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ABSTRACT

This book examines the religious and philosophical factors historically affecting Korean higher education, and the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education in relation to organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. The book is organized into 4 parts, with 11 chapters. Part One focuses on identifying the problem with Chapter 1 describing the problem, research questions, significance and limitations of the study, definitions of terms, and research methods and procedures. Part Two illustrates the historical background of the study: the traditional period (57 BC-1910 AD) and the modern era (1910-1990s). Chapter 2 introduces the context of Korean higher education in the traditional era, and Chapter 3 illustrates the background of Korean higher education in the modern period. Part Three explores the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing Korean higher education from the perspectives of organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. Chapter 4 examines Buddhism in the traditional period, Chapter 5 focuses on Confucianism, and Chapter 6 illustrates Christianity and Western thoughts. Chapter 7 discusses Japanese imperialism under Japanese colonial rule, Chapter 8 shifts the focus to Americanism under the U.S. military government, and Chapter 9 analyzes contemporary thoughts on examining the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education from the perspective of educational administration. Part Four presents a summary, conclusions, and implications for Korean higher education. Chapter 10 describes the summary. Chapter 11 pulls together a general discussion of the implications of evaluations or findings for educational administrators, as well as practitioners, and recommendations for future study. Appendixes contain information on the chronology of Korean history; the development of Korean higher education, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity; the organization of the Ministry of Education and a typical Korean university; statistical data on Korean higher education; and various legislative acts. (Contains approximately 250 references.) (EMS)

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KOREAN STUDIES SERIES NO. 17

HISTORIC FACTORS INFLUENCING KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Lee Jeong-kyu

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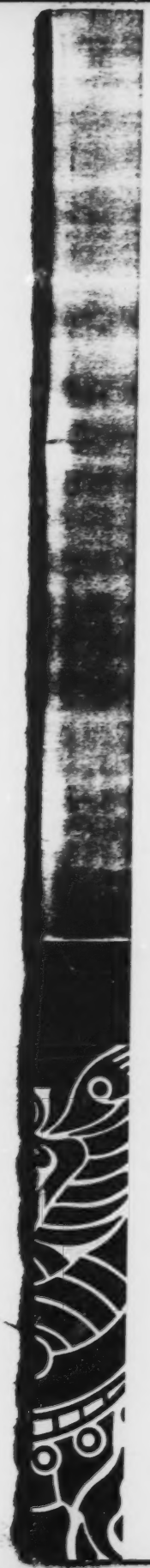

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Historic Factors Influencing Korean Higher Education

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To my wife and daughter, Ok-hee and Ki-rim

Preface

This book is (1) to examine the religious and philosophical factors historically affecting Korean elite/higher education in terms of educational administration, according to two historical epochs: the traditional period (57 BC-AD 1910) and the modern period (AD 1910-1990s), (2) to analyze the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education, focusing on the perspectives of three themes, organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture, and (3) to provide the present and future Western and Korean peoples useful information to understand the development of Korean elite/higher education through weighing the trend of thoughts in Korean higher education.

This book is organized into four parts, eleven chapters, references, appendixes, and index.

Part One identifies introduction and identification of the problem. Chapter One describes the statement of the problem, research questions, significance of the study, limitations of the study, definitions of terms, and research method and procedures.

Part Two illustrates the historical background of the study that includes two historical epochs: the traditional period and the modern era. The traditional period is divided into three parts: the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom, the Koryo Dynasty, and the Choson dynasty. In addition, the modern period includes three parts: Japanese colonial rule, the U.S. Military Government, and the Republic of Korea. Chapter Two introduces the context of Korean elite education in the traditional era, and Chapter Three illustrates the background of Korean higher education in the modern period in terms of the traditional thoughts as original branches and the foreign ideas as grafted branches.

Part Three explores the religious and philosophical factors

historically influencing Korean elite/higher education from the perspectives of educational administration, particularly the three themes, organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. Some traditional and adapted thoughts will be reviewed as the following: Chapter Four examines Buddhism in the traditional period, especially Hwarang and monastic Buddhist schools; Chapter Five focuses on Confucianism in the Choson period, in particular Seongkyunkwan and Kwa-keo systems; Chapter Six illustrates Christianity and Western thoughts in the late Choson period; Chapter Seven discusses Japanese imperialism under Japanese colonial rule; Chapter Eight shifts the focus to Americanism under the U.S. Military Government; and Chapter Nine analyzes contemporary thoughts regarding examining the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education from the perspectives of three areas of educational administration theories and processes because they are essential areas as fundamental principles and administrative process in educational administration.

In considering the purpose of the study and the mental tradition of the Korean people, the three themes are more closely related to the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing contemporary Korean higher education. Therefore, the author will examine and analyze only the three themes in spite of the limited areas of educational administration.

Finally, Part Four presents a summary, conclusions, and implications for Korean higher education. Chapter Ten describes the summary. Chapter Eleven pulls together a general discussion of the implications of evaluations or findings for educational administrators as well as practitioners, and recommendations for future study.

Acknowledgment

I especially wish to express my heartfelt gratitude to my mentor and master, Dr. Ronald M. Brown who was a former Vice-President of Student Affairs of The University of Texas at Austin. Without his painstaking support and tireless encouragement, this book would not have been born. Actually, this book is a revised and updated version of the author's doctoral dissertation, *A Study of the Development of Contemporary Korean Higher Education* (The University of Texas at Austin, 1997). For the actual production of this work, I benefited greatly from my respected teacher, Dr. Brown, who gave scholarly comments, invaluable advice, and helpful criticisms in the process of this research. Furthermore, I deeply appreciate that his patronage of my study offered me opportunities to receive both an academic competitive scholarship and a Henderson Fellowship during my doctoral study. I also owe sincere gratitude to my honorable committee members who read draft chapters and gave their valuable guidance and comments: Drs. Jay D. Scribner, David M. Austin, Jeannette L. Faurot, and Donaid G. Phelps.

In particular, I am indebted to my beloved teachers and friends William H. Fisher, who is one of John Dewey's disciples, and Garth F. Petrie who have offered me their scholarly views regarding my research work and whose warm kindness reinforced my study. I will never forget that both **teachers** have always guided and helped me in difficult times during my study in Montana.

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Lee Jeong-kyu
KEDI
Seoul, Korea
August 2000

*Articles mostly based on this study, already published in domestic and international journals and drawn on in the course of preparing this manuscript, appeared as the following:

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Administrative Structure and Systems of Korean Higher Education, *Higher Education Management*, 12 (2), 43-51, 2000.

Japanese Nationalistic Thought and Korean Higher Education.

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About the Author

Lee Jeong-kyu received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Korean Union College in Seoul, South Korea with a major in theology. After teaching and counseling at senior high schools in South Korea for several years, he studied educational leadership and received a Master's degree in Education from the University of Montana and received a Ph.D. degree in Educational Administration at the University of Texas at Austin. Following the receipt of his Ph.D., he became an education researcher at the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI), a Korean government funded independent institution which is actively involved in research and development. Now, he is Associate Research Fellow in the Division of School Education Research at the KEDI. His primary professional interests are higher education administration focusing on organizational culture and leadership, social and ethical values, and philosophy of higher education.

In addition to the foregoing, he studied educational psychology and ancient Greek philosophy at the University of Alberta in Canada after he had studied the German language at the University of Trier in Germany. During his doctoral study, he was a scholarship student and benefited from a Henderson scholarship and an academic competitive scholarship. According to the letters of recommendation from his professors, Drs. Ronald M. Brown, William F. Fisher, and Garth F. Petrie, Dr. Lee is one of the best scholars among the several hundred graduate students with whom his professors had worked over the past 25 years and he was an outstanding student and researcher and no doubt about it.

Dr. Lee's work has been published in national and international journals. His representative academic articles and publi-

cations include: *A Study of the Development of Contemporary Korean Higher Education (doctoral dissertation, 1997)*; *Administrative Bureaucracy and Organizational Culture in Contemporary Korean Higher Education (1997)*; *A Comparative Study of Leadership and Ethical Values in Organizational Culture Revealed in the Thoughts of Confucius and Aristotle: from the Perspective of Educational Administration (1998)*; *Religious Factors Historically Affecting Premodern Korean Elite/Higher Education (1998)*; *Organizational Structure and Culture in Korean Higher Education (1999)*; *Historic Factors Affecting Educational Administration in Korean Higher Education (1999)*; *Administrative Structure and Systems of Korean Higher Education (2000)*; *and Main Reform on Higher Education Systems in Korea (2000)*.

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Part One
Introduction

I. Identification of the Problem

Introduction

Supposing that the passage of time compares to a tree, we could say that the past would be a root, the present a leaf, and the future a flower or a fruit. In other words, the root was formed through the past predecessors of spiritual and cultural soil; the current prosperity and civilization are the products of the substances of noble life of our contemporaries, as well as the fruits of the historical footprints of our ancestors; and the future will not only be a flower which emits fragrance of human culture in the harmony between the past and present, but also a fruit that bears the substance of the spiritual and practical worlds of our antecedents.

In truth, in order to produce the sublime fragrance of a human cultural flower and its valuable fruit, the present soil must be cultivated. As a matter of fact, when we suppose that education performs a role in the above process, to weigh the tangible or intangible legacy of our forefathers from an educational viewpoint can give an important meaning that is to create both the fruitful present and the future life. That is to suggest new educational philosophies, aims, principles, and methods to current and future educators.

In terms of Korean history, foreign religious or philosophical thoughts have deeply molded Korean mentality and society. As Figure 1 shows, in this book the ideas will be described according to two historical epochs: the traditional period (57 BC-AD 1910) and the modern period (AD 1910-1990s).

Figure 1. Major Historical Epochs

Traditional Period (57 BC-AD 1910)	Three Kingdoms (57 BC-AD 668) & Unified Silla Kingdom (668-935)
	Koryo Kingdom (918-1392)
	Choson Kingdom (1392-1910) Early Choson (1392-1880) Late Choson (1880-1910)
Modern Period (AD 1910-1990s)	Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945) U.S. Military Government (1945-1948) Republic of Korea (1948-1990s)

In particular, the traditional period contains three parts: the Three Kingdoms (57 BC-AD 668)—Koguryo (37 BC-AD 668), in the north; Paekche (18 BC-AD 660), in the southwest; and Silla (57 BC-AD 935), in the southeast—and the Unified Silla Kingdom (668-935), the Koryo Dynasty (918-1392), and the early and late Choson period (1392-1910). The modern period also includes three parts: (1) the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), (2) the U.S. Military rule (1945-1948), and (3) the Republic of Korea era (1948-1990s).

During the first epoch, Confucianism was transmitted to Korea through China before the Three Kingdoms period (C. A. Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1989; Lee, 1984), and Buddhism came to *Koguryo* in AD 372, the date for the first official acceptance (Buswell, 1989; Deuchler, 1992; Iryon, 1285; Kibaek Lee, 1984; Kim, 1145). According to traditional Korean historical sources such as *Samguk-sagi* (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Busik Kim, 1145), *Samguk-yusa* (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea) (Iryon, 1285), and *Haedong-kosung-chon* (Bibliographies of Eminent Korean Monks), Buddhism was transmitted to Korea from China during the Three Kingdoms period. On the other hand, Charles Allen Clark (1981, pp. 91-94) and James Huntley Grayson (1989, pp. 60-61) noted that Confucianism came to Korea before the diffusion of

Chinese civilization.

All of the Three Kingdoms adopted Confucian learning as an important means by which the political and educational standards of the three states were implemented (Grayson, 1989, p. 61; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 58). In addition, Buddhism was also adopted as a doctrine or religion for maintaining the society and protection of the states in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom periods (Grayson, 1989; Byungdo Lee, 1986; Kibaek Lee, 1984). Especially, Buddhism as a national religion exerted a significant influence upon the overall society in the Koryo Dynasty, while Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism in the Choson period (1392-1910) pervaded the whole of politics, economics, society, culture, and education. Confucianism generally designates the classical Confucianism, while the reformed Confucianism is called Neo-Confucianism. The latter was influenced by Buddhism, Taoism, and supernaturalism. In the Choson period, Confucianism practically belonged to Neo-Confucianism.

In the late Choson period (1880s-1910), Christianity and Western thoughts entered and threw into confusion the Confucian Choson Dynasty. Under the Japanese rule (1910-1945), the governance of Japanese imperialists trampled the spirit and body of the Korean people. After the tragic division of the Korean peninsula in 1945, indiscreet acceptance of American culture under the U.S. Military Government and an ideological conflict between South and North Korea led to great disorder in general Korean politics and society. In the period of the Republic of Korea (1948-1990s), the traditional Korean ideas based on Confucianism and Buddhism have been slipping because of worship of Western materialism and Christianity.

In the above vein, there is no doubt that external ideas have significantly had an impact on Korean education. Clearly speaking, foreign thoughts such as Buddhism, Confucianism, Neo-Confucianism, and Taoism had been gradually blended into Korean culture and had become the main current of traditional thoughts that deeply spread their roots in Korean society. Historically, Taoism, founded by Lao-Tzu, emphasizes the unity

of humanity and the universe, impacted on the Korean people, but it was not so significant as Confucianism and Buddhism. In the light of Korean history, before Western education was first introduced by Christian missionaries in the late Choson period (1880s), the Korean people executed elite education based on Chinese systems during the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-AD 668) and practiced educational administration, systems, principles, and methods in their own ways. In the traditional period, Korean education fostered the elite who can lead the Korean people. The words elite education would bear different connotation than the ancient Greek or the medieval Western higher education. Despite such different meaning, in this book the author regards elite education as the origin of Korean higher education.

According to Korean historians (Sang-Kook Lee, 1955), the system of elite education in the traditional period was modeled upon the educational system of the Chinese Chin dynasty, which stressed the Chinese classics, such as Confucian texts and Chinese historical records. In addition, it was a tool for cultivating the government officials. However, the Korean people have had distinct religion, thought, and culture since ancient times. From the Old Choson period (2333 BC-194 BC), the Koreans formed communal clan-centered society and had shamanistic beliefs before the advent of Chinese civilization (Grayson, 1989; Kibaek Lee, 1984). For this reason, the overall administration, organizations, principles, and methods of education are not easily identified and discussed like those of the West.

In fact, from the Three Kingdoms period to the late Choson times, although Korean elite education had generally followed in the steps of the Chinese educational administration and system, it is clear that the traditional or pre-modern elite education of Korea and of China were not identical. As Philip J. Gannon (1985) points out, Buddhism and Confucian studies and traditions from China were independently integrated into the Korean culture and society (p. 5). In the history of Far Eastern Asia, Korea as a bridgehead usually accepted Chinese culture and generally transmitted it to

Japan until the middle of the Choson period. In spite of having a Chinese cultural background in common, however, the cultures of Korea, China, and Japan have had their unique characteristics. In the light of this cultural uniqueness, even if each nation has commonly stressed its own cultural singleness, the cultural differences between nations have gradually become narrower with international industrialization.

Despite such a trend, to know one's own culture is very important in point of educational view. In fact, without understanding the confirmed educational thoughts represented through one's own history, to practice foreign educational ideas in order to educate one's own people can be erroneous in the educational dimensions of a nation. Indeed, supposing that the native culture or atmosphere is an original branch, the extrinsic culture or atmosphere would be only a grafted branch. Like a grapevine, the grafted branch cannot bear fruit without an original branch. From a similar standpoint, in Korea, shamanism as the Korean primal religion is an original branch; Buddhism and Confucianism are old grafted branches, and Christianity and Western philosophy are new grafted branches. In this book, however, the author regards Buddhism and Confucianism as original branches or traditional thoughts, while Christianity and Western philosophy as grafted branches or external thoughts.

For the past five hundred years, since the Korean people have regarded Confucian educational values as the most important social standards, the Korean people under the Choson Dynasty unfortunately lost an opportunity to modernize their society. After World War II, however, the Korean people have made effective use of Western scientific approaches or skills for their modernization combined with the Confucian values based on self-perfection and social harmony through education. Accordingly, the Confucian emphasis on education could be viewed as a catalyst in the Korean industrialization process. William Theodore de Bary (1996), a famous Sinologist, nicely writes his opinion regarding the merit of Confucian education in premodern East Asia as the following:

> Earlier in the twentieth century Confucianism was apt to be seen as an obstacle to modernization: more recently the Confucian work ethic and encouragement of learning have been credited with giving East Asia peoples the motivation, discipline, and skills necessary to engage in many essential processes of modernization. Changing political perceptions have also had an effect. Revolutionary movements were once bent on removing conservative Confucian influences from education. Today the same elements, now well established in power and inclined to emphasize stability as the key to economic progress, are hoping a revival of traditional Confucian values will contribute to self-discipline and social order. (p. 21)

As de Bary points out in the above, grafting one branch to another, the modern industrial flower in the East can brilliantly bloom through the spiritual and practical graft of Eastern and Western precedents. In addition, current education as a limb of the present culture will be attached to the spiritual and practical worlds of the future descendants.

In exploring the historic spiritual and practical factors in Korean elite/higher education, the author will first describe the historical background of the development of contemporary Korean higher education through the country's history and analyze not only traditional Korean thoughts but also foreign thoughts as related to perspectives in Korean elite or higher education. Although some Eastern and Western educators or theorists have studied Korean higher education over time, a study that illustrates the development of Korean higher education from the Three Kingdoms period to the current time and that analyzes religious or philosophical trends related to each historical period has not been done.

There are several related researches. For example, Horace H. Underwood (1926) published his doctoral dissertation, *Modern Education in Korea*. In this book, he often discussed Korean higher education under the late Choson Kingdom and Japanese colonial rule. Han-Young Rim (1952) researched the development of Korean higher education under Japanese colonial rule in his unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, *Development of Higher Education*

in Korea during the Japanese Occupation (1910-1945). Sung-hwa Lee (1958) briefly treated the social and political factors affecting Korean higher education from 1885 through 1950 in his unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, *The Social and Political Factors Affecting Korean Education, 1885-1945.* C. W. Wood (1961) mainly described the realities of Korean higher education in the period of Republic of Korea (1948-1960) in his article, *The Realities of Public Higher Education in Korea.* Byung Hun Nam (1962) covered Korean education, including higher education, under the U.S. Military Government in his unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, *Educational Reorganization in South Korea under the United States Army Military Government, 1945-1948.* Whidug Chung Yun (1989) explored the trace of quantitative growth and qualitative change regarding the system of Korean higher education from 1945 to 1988 in her unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, *An Assessment of the Development of Higher Education in the Republic of Korea from 1945 to 1988.*

In addition, other studies are: Donald K. Adams (1956) who discussed Korean education under the American Military Government in his unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, *Education in Korea, 1945-1955*; Young-Shik Kim's (1970) *Korean Education in Historical Perspective* which focused on Korean education from the late Choson to the present time; Chong-chol Kim's (1979) *A Study of Higher Education in Korea* that covered Korean higher education in the 1960s; Yong-il Kim (1984)'s *A History of Education in Korea* which generally depicted Korean education from ancient times to the 1980s; and In-Su Son's (1985) *A Study of Education in the Enlightenment Period of Korea* which presented Korean education from 1876 to 1910.

Furthermore, in point of educational ideas, these studies are: James E. Fisher's (1928) *Democracy and Mission Education in Korea* (Published Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University) which illustrated missionary education in Korea under Japanese colonial rule; Sung-Il Kim (1961) who touched on educational thought in his unpublished Ed. D. dissertation, *A Study of Certain Aspects of Educational Roots in the Republic of Korea*; In-Su Son (1964) and Kiun Hahn (1969) who also treated

educational ideas from the perspectives of Korean history; Chong-chol Kim (1972) who analyzed philosophical factors in Korean higher education in his article, *Directions in the Basic Philosophy and Organization of Higher Education*; and In-hoe Kim et al. (1983) who presented the characteristics of traditional educational thought.

As shown in the above studies, in order to explore religious and philosophical factors historically influencing Korean elite/higher education, the author will first describe the context of Korean higher education according to the two historical epochs and then examine and analyze the impact of religious or philosophical factors on Korean elite/higher education for Western and Korean educators to map out reasonable educational theory and practice suitable for their educational circumstances.

I. Identification of the Problem

1. Statement of the Problem

The problems to be investigated in this book are: (1) to explore the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing Korean elite/higher education from the perspectives of educational administration, (2) to describe the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education, focusing on perspectives of higher educational administration, and (3) to map out reasonable educational administration theory and practice which are fit for the Korean people through weighing the trend of thoughts in Korean higher education.

First, for a clear understanding of the development of Korean elite/higher education, the author will simply illustrate the historical background of the study through classifying several main historical epochs. Although Korean historians have traditionally classified each period according to the beginning of a new kingdom, for clarity and convenience the author has identified two parts to explain the progress of Korean elite/higher education. However, in order to clearly illustrate the growth of Korean elite/higher education, as mentioned in the introductory section, the traditional period is divided into three eras: the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom, the Koryo Dynasty, and the Choson Dynasty; and the modern period contains also three parts: the Japanese colonial period, the U.S. military rule, and the Republic of Korea era. In addition, focusing on perspectives of educational administration, the author will discuss three main themes of administration theory and process such as organizational structure, culture, and leadership.

Second, to explore the traditional and grafted thoughts in Korean elite/higher education, each religious or philosophical

factor will be reviewed from the perspectives of educational administration according to the identified themes.

Last, throughout the above process, the author will assess the impact of historic religious or philosophical thoughts on Korean education and the future picture which shows ideally or practically reasonable educational theory and practice for the future Korean descendants and the development of Korean higher education. Overall, this book will be focused on the institutional and intellectual history of Korean higher education from the traditional period to the present time.

2. Research Questions

In this book three major research questions are addressed:

First, what religious and philosophical thoughts have contributed to Korean elite/higher education?

Second, what are the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education, particularly as related to perspectives in higher educational administration?

Third, what are the implications of contemporary educational administration theory and practice for Korean higher education?

3. Significance of the Study

As the author mentioned in the previous section, supposing that the traditional culture or thought is an original branch, the external culture or thought would be a grafted branch. As the grafted branch cannot bear fruit without an original branch, so the merely exotic thought may not serve the native people who have been familiar with their traditional culture or thought. Moreover, without building a firm national philosophy or aim, teaching only foreign thoughts to a nation can lead to loss of national identity.

From the above viewpoint, learning the national history and philosophy is essential for people to establish their national identity. Accordingly, teaching the history and philosophy of

education as core criteria in the educational areas is necessary to practice the present educational principles and methods, as well as to design the future educational goals and objects. Gerald L. Gutek, who was a professor of Educational Leadership and History at Loyola University of Chicago, stated that the history of education is a valuable culture and professional component in teacher preparation (1972, p. vii). Paul Monroe (1934) also viewed the history of education as a means of inspiring prospective teachers and introducing them to their professions. In addition, William K. Frankena (1961) argued that the philosophy of education has for a long time urgently needed studies of the history of the subject (p. preface). Edward J. Power (1982) mentions that educational philosophy is a plan for allowing each succeeding generation to fulfill itself (p. 4).

Considering the above statements, the author expects that through examination and analysis of Korean history this book will provide valuable philosophical and educational ideas for the Western and Korean peoples, including educational administrators. In addition, in reviewing the area of higher educational administration as an emerging professional field in Korea, the book will also give a useful professional element concerning educational administration theory and practice nationally.

4. Limitations of the Study

The author sets several limitations in this book.

First, the study of the religious and philosophical factors affecting Korean elite or higher education is very broad because Korea has a long history—over 4,300 years. Accordingly, as shown in the introductory section, this book is limited to two major historical epochs from the Three Kingdoms to the present time: the traditional period and the modern era. In particular, to succinctly catch the growth of Korean higher education, the traditional period will be classified into three kingdoms: the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom, the Koryo Dynasty, and the Choson Dynasty. In addition, the Choson Dynasty will be divided into two parts again: the early Choson

period and the late Choson period. Furthermore, in the modern period, the author will treat not only Japanese rule but also South Korean higher education under the U.S. Military Government and the Republic of Korea.

Second, in order to investigate historic factors in Korean higher education, some religious and philosophical thematic categories will be defined according to the traditional classification of Korean history. Particularly, the author will shift the focus to three religious thoughts, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity. Buddhism and Confucianism were the main institutional and sociopolitical ideologies during the premodern Korean states (Lee Jeong-kyu, 1998), and Christianity was one of the major factors that contributed to Korean modernization. Buddhism will be mainly discussed in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla periods, especially Hwarang (Flowers of Youth) and monastic Buddhist schools. Confucianism will be examined in the Choson period, particularly Seongkyunkwan (The National Confucian Academy) and Kwa-keo systems (national civil and military service examinations). Christianity will be analyzed Roman Catholic and Protestantism related to Korean higher education in the late Choson period.

In addition, two other ideologies, Japanese imperialism and Americanism, will be discussed. Japanese imperialism will be reviewed its colonial period (1910-1945), particularly Shintoism and Japanese imperial higher education, and Americanism under the United States military government will be explored. Also, this book will be limited to the review of the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing contemporary Korean higher education from the perspectives of educational administration, particularly three themes, organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture.

Finally, in terms of the limitation of sources, most primary and secondary sources will be obtained through library research, fax order, E-mail, and mail in the United States of America and South Korea.

5. Definitions of Terms

Buddhism
The religion founded in India in the 5th century BC by Siddhartha Gautama (usually 563-483 BC) who asserted that persomal tanha (desire) is the origin of suffering and that overcoming samsara (the eternal karmic round of existence) is the ultimate way to get salvation.

Confucianism
The practical philosophy and rite derived from the teaching of Confucius in the 6th-5th century BC and influenced Chinese and other Far Eastern peoples. From the ancient period up to the present time, Confucianism has been a norm of individual cultivation, social ethics, and political philosophy. In terms of its ritualistic tradition and moral building, Confucianism maintained both philosophical and religious traditions. In this book, it is defined as one of the most common traditional philosophies and religions that affected Korean thought, religion, society, politics, and education.

Neo-Confucianism
The reformed Confucianism was influenced by Buddhism, Taoism, and supernaturalism. It developed from the Sung period (960-1279) in China and transferred to the Koryo and the Choson periods in Korea. In the late 13th or the early 14th century, Sung Neo-Confucianism was introduced by Korean Confucian scholars, who pursued an ideal state ideology and religion, in order to confront the corrupted Buddhism aristocrats (Chung, 1995, p. 5). In the end of the Koryo dynasty, Neo-Confucianism became a new moral and socio-political philosophy. In this book, Confucianism which was mentioned in the late Koryo and the Choson periods means Neo-Confucianism. In general, there are no distinctions between the two because Neo-Confucianism is a branch of traditional Confucianism.

Christianity
A major religion, stemming from the life, teachings, and death of Jesus Christ, can be divided among three principal groups: Roman Catholicism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Protestantism (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 3, 1992, p. 280). In this book, however, Christianity is defined as the Roman Catholics and the Protestants including numerous denominations.

Roman Catholicism
One of the three major branches of Christianity characterized by its uniform, highly developed doctrinal and organizational structure that traces its history to the Apostles of Jesus in the first century AD. In the book the author views Roman Catholicism as the evangelical propagation of the Roman Catholics from the Choson period till the present.

Protestantism
One of the three major branches of Christianity, originating in the sixteenth century Reformation, characterized by grace through faith, the priesthood of all believers, and the authority of the Holy Scriptures (The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 9, 1992, p. 740). The author regards Protestantism as Reformed Christianity that has pervaded the Korean people.

Imperialism
The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 6 (1992) defines it as state policy, practice, or advocacy of extending power and domination, especially by direct territorial acquisition or by gaining political and economic control of other areas (p. 272). The term in this book is regarded as the political, economic, and military power which dominates over a subjected people or country.

Americanism
The author regards it as the U.S. imperialism as it appeared in Korean history.

Higher Education

In this book, it is simply viewed as the highest level of education available at national, public, and private colleges, universities, and special schools in Korea. Typically, that education occurs after 12 years of primary and secondary education.

Organizational Culture

The definitions of organizational culture are varied because the concept of organizational culture has been the subject of considerable semantic confusion and academic debate in the last twenty years. In this book, however, organizational culture is defined as philosophy, value, or rite in the religious and institutional organizations.

6. Research Method and Procedures

Research Method

The author will utilize a descriptive content analysis method, a type of descriptive observational research, to defend research questions in this book. Although the term descriptive may be used in its literal sense describing events or situations except any incidental inferences or predictions, the descriptive method has its goal the investigation of the characteristics of a given as is universe or sample of interest (Grosof and Sardy, 1985). Thus, the descriptive approach is generally useful for investigating a variety of educational problems and is concerned with the assessment of parameter values, opinions, attitudes, conditions, procedures, information, and effective conceptualizations (Gay, 1992; Grosof & Sardy, 1985; Hyman, 1955).

Descriptive studies are of many different types, and classifying them is not easy (Gay, 1992). Accordingly, the descriptive method is rarely definitive and has various strategies of data collection as well as many types of surveys. There are two main categories in the descriptive studies: a self-report study and an observation study (Gay, 1992, p. 219). L. R. Gay (1992)

explains these two categories as the following:

> In a self-report study, information is solicited from individuals using, for example, questionnaires, interviews, or standardized attitude scales. In an observation study, individuals are not asked for information; rather, the researcher obtains the desired data through other means, such as direct observation. These two categories are not, of course, mutually exclusive; a self-report study may involve observation and vice versa. (p. 219)

In this book, the researcher used a type of descriptive research which is nonparticipant observation: content analysis. L. R. Gay (1992) defines that content analysis is the systematic, quantitative description of the composition of the object of the study (p. 236). The subjects for the study include various documents, books, journals, periodicals, and dissertations. To understand clearly what content analysis is, the author again cites Gay's (1992) statements as follows:

> Textbooks are frequently analyzed to determine such things as readability level and the existence or extent of bias in presentation of material. Content analysis, for example, can be used to determine if a particular textbook is appropriate for the intended grade level by analyzing such variables as frequently of certain vocabulary and average sentence length. (p. 236)

The above statement is nothing but a common method of descriptive study, but the exact phases of a descriptive analysis are not limited to any one method of data collection (Hyman, 1955; Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1962). However, in this study the author will mainly use the method of content analysis through various documents and books.

To examine the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education and to explore the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing the country's contemporary post-secondary education from the perspective of educational admin-

istration, the researcher believes that the method of descriptive content analysis is an appropriate design because the study will be defined through identifying the problem, exploring the sources, formulating or discovering ideas, analyzing or synthesizing content, and presenting conclusions and implications. Moreover, the study has no control over what is and only measures what already exists.

Research Procedures

In order to systematically research this study, according to suggestions of Selltiz et al. (1962), five main steps in the methodology will begin with (1) formulating the objectives of the study, (2) designing the methods of data collection, (3) selecting and collecting the data, (4) analyzing and interpreting the data, and (5) presenting the findings and implications.

Formulating the Objectives of the Study

The first step in this book is to set the purpose of the study and to define research questions that are to be defended. As the author stated the research questions in Chapter 1, the first research question is what religious and philosophical thoughts have contributed to the current status of Korean higher education? In this question, the religious and philosophical thoughts will be regarded as the traditional and foreign religious or philosophical ideas. In other words, the traditional religions or ideas in this study are Buddhism and Confucianism, while the adopted religions or thoughts are Christianity, Western philosophies, Japanese imperialism, and Americanism. Furthermore, the term Christianity includes Roman Catholics and Protestants of many denominations. The words Western thoughts mean the Western ideas that have exerted an influence upon Korean higher education. To test the question, the researcher will explore the religious and philosophical factors influencing contemporary Korean higher education through examining and analyzing the three themes of educational administration as mentioned in the first chapter.

Next, the second research question is what are the char-

acteristics of contemporary Korean higher education, particularly as related to perspectives in higher educational administration? In this question, the term 'characteristics' is defined and limited to three areas of educational administration. They are organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. In addition, the words 'Korean higher education' include all types of post-secondary institutions, including national, public, and private colleges, universities, and special schools. However, in this book the researcher will generally examine four or six year colleges' and universities' characteristics related to perspectives in educational administration. To defend the question, the author will generally describe contemporary Korean higher education from the perspective of educational administration and specifically examine the three themes of theories and practices.

Finally, the third research question is what are the implications of contemporary educational administration theory and practice for higher education? In this question, the terms 'educational administration theory and practice' show the American academic categories concerning educational administration theory and practice. To investigate the question, the author will present conclusions and map out reasonable educational administration theory and practice that are suitable for the Korean people.

Designing the Methods of Data Collection

This study uses a descriptive content analysis method. Accordingly, the method of collecting data is somewhat unusual, unlike self-report research or participant observational research. Self-report research commonly needs the collection of quantifiable information from all members or samples of a population (Gay, 1992). In survey research as a major type of self-report, it uses questionnaires or interviews to collect data in general. On the other hand, in participant observational research, the method of collecting data is broad and flexible because observation can be overt or covert. Thus, the participant observational research can get large amounts of data although they are not easy to analyze.

In descriptive content analysis, however, it may be quite

simple, involving primarily frequency counts, or very sophisticated and compound, involving investigation of the existence of bias or unreliability in documents and books (Gay, 1992; Selltiz et al., 1962). Considering the above view, the author, if possible, will try to obtain an abundance of useful primary sources by direct or indirect methods. The direct method means to observe or get primary data himself through library research, and the indirect method means to receive primary data printed through copy, E-mail, or fax machines from South Korea and the United States of America. If it is difficult for the author to get sufficient primary data, potentially practical secondary sources will be obtained by direct or indirect ways as the best alternative method.

Selecting and Collecting the Data

In order to obtain valuable information or data in this book, the author will select reliable sources to guard against bias and unreliability. Accordingly, he will collect useful primary or secondary data directly and indirectly. According to Brickman's (1982) statement, primary sources are first-hand accounts; secondary sources are accounts at least one step removed from the first-hand material.

In this study both primary and secondary sources will be gathered directly and indirectly from Korean, English, and Japanese documents, including books, periodicals, articles, and dissertations during the process of the inquiry. Most of the useful data will be placed categorically in the bibliography. For the bibliography and footnotes, the researcher will utilize 3×5 and 4×6 size cards arranged systematically according to chapters and subjects. The former will be used for the bibliography, and the latter will be utilized for the footnotes. Additionally, the sources of a quotation and the evidence for a statement will be noted in both footnotes and bibliography.

Analyzing and Interpreting of Data

In the process of analyzing and interpreting data, Howard W. Odum and K. Jocher (1929) describe that the analyzing of data

includes the preliminary processes of planning for their organization, tabulation, checking, rechecking, orienting, and the continuous work involved in developing a research project. Additionally, it includes also the important fundamental scientific process of careful analysis and sifting, classification and groupings, objectivity, and measurement (Odum & Jocher 1929, p. 386). Therefore, analysis and interpretation of data process simultaneously with the collection of the data. In other words, consulting the data sufficiently, the researcher will bring about analysis and interpretation clear, critical, and logical.

In consideration of the study as descriptive content analysis, the analysis of data generally follows Odum and Jocher's (1929) suggestions. Accordingly, research questions 1 and 2 will be analyzed and interpreted simultaneously with the collection of data. In particular, to describe contemporary Korean higher education, the researcher will check the present educational situation in Korean higher education and analyze some areas of administration. In research question 3, the inquirer will analyze and interpret thematically Korean higher education from the perspective of educational administration.

Presenting the Findings and Implications

Odum and Jocher (1929) say, "Effective presentation is an essential part of successful research" (p. 391). To achieve the study successfully, the author will consider (1) distinct description of the problem statement, (2) proper research design which needs minimum bias and maximum reliability of the data through collecting worthy sources, and (3) effective presentation that includes to test research questions and to provide useful implications, as well as clear conclusions.

In the above procedures, Part Four in this book presents (1) a summary of the study and conclusions of research findings, and (2) a general discussion of the implications of evaluation, including recommendations of future study.

Part Two
Historical Background

II. Elite Education in the Traditional Period (57 BC-AD 1910)
III. Higher Education in the Modern Period (AD 1910-1990s)

II. Elite Education in the Traditional Period (57 BC-AD 1910)

As a historical background, elite education in the traditional period will be presented in three parts: the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom, the Koryo Dynasty, and the Choson Dynasty.

1. The Three Kingdoms (57 BC-AD 668) and the Unified Silla Kingdom (668-935)

The Korean people have respected Confucian learning and have attached great significance to education throughout Korean history. This tradition began early in the Three Kingdoms period and continues to the present time. According to one important historical record, *Samguk-sagi* (Kim, 1145), the intellectual activity of the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-AD 668) was the learning of Chinese thought and culture, which was much more highly developed than Korean thought and culture of that time. Accordingly, Chinese systems and ideas pervaded the three early states of Korea and had a significant impact on Korean culture and society. Despite such a massive influx of Chinese culture, Korea endeavored to keep its own nationality and individuality as well as to adapt Chinese culture for its own purpose and development. In this vein, elite education in the traditional period was viewed as a cornerstone of Korean spiritual self-reliance.

The first formal elite education began in the Three Kingdoms period (57 BC-AD 668) after adoption of the Chinese educational institutions and ideas (Han, 1988; Kim, 1145; Korean Overseas Information Service, 1993; Byungdo Lee, 1986; Kibaek Lee, 1984; The Korean National Commission for Unesco, 1960).

The first formal institution of elite education in Korea was known as *Taehak* (National Confucian Academy), established by King Sosurim of Koguryo in AD 372 (Iryon, 1285, p. 177; Kim, 1145, p. 279). Fu Chien, King of Former Chin (China), sent the Koguryo court a Buddhist statue and scripture in the second year of King So-su-rim (AD 372), and in the same year Koguryo founded a university to teach the youth (Kim, 1145). The institution taught the Chinese language, Chinese character dictionary, the Confucian classics called the Four Books: *Lun Yu* (Confucian Analects), *Ta Hsio* (Great Learning), *Chung Yung* (Doctrine of the Mean), and *Mencius* (the Works of Mencius), the Five Chinese Classics named the Five *Ching*: the *Yi* (The Book of Changes), the *Shu* (The Book of History), the *Shih* (The Book of Poetry), the *Li Chi* (Record of Rites), and *Chun Chiu* (Spring and Autumn, a chronicle of events from 722 to 481 BC), the Three Chinese Historical Records: *Ssu-ma Chien's* Historical Records, the History of the Han Dynasty and the History of the Later Han Dynasty, and Chinese Literary Selections (Grayson, 1989, p. 62; Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 10; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 58). Since the purpose of the institution was mainly to foster prospective government officials, its door was opened only to the scions of the aristocratic class. After the establishment of the National Academy, the private schools called *Kyongdang* shortly followed in order for sons of the other classes to learn Chinese classics, history, and literature, as well as the martial arts. According to *Samguk-Yusa* (trans. in English, Yonsei University Press, 1972, pp. 193-194), Taoism, as a religion of defense of the land, was significantly advocated by Koguryo rulers.

Next, in the Paekche Kingdom (18 BC-AD 660), although there is no distinctive Korean historical record in which the state had a similar educational institution like Koguryo, the author would believe that Paekche also had a similar Confucian Academy as Kibaek Lee (1984, p. 58) and Byungdo Lee (1986, p. 19) assert. I assume that Paekche also taught Chinese for the purpose of training officials. *Hou chou Shu* (the History of the Later Chou Dynasty) mentions that the upper-class people of

Paekche enjoyed reading Chinese books such as *O-Kyung* or the Five Classics as the Koguryo people did. The titles of *Paksa* (Learned Doctor) and *O-Kyung Paksa* (Doctor of the Five Chinese Classics) were written in the ancient Japanese historical records, *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697), Vol. I (trans. W. G. Aston, 1896, pp. 262-263) and *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) (trans. Basil Hall Chamberlain, 1973, p. 306), to describe Paekche scholars. In fact, the title of '*Paksa*' was given to scholars of the Chinese Classics, and a scholar who had the title of the *O-Kyung Paksa* was proficient in the content of the Five Chinese Classics. The term 'Paksa' (Po Shih) appeared in the Dynastic History of Han. It means learned men or great scholars in charge of Chinese classical studies (Galt, 1929, p. 142; Legge, 1971, p. 7).

Based on the ancient Japanese records (Nihongi (N), Vol. I, trans., Aston, 1896, pp. 262-263; Kojiki (K), trans., Chamberlain, 1973, p. 306), there is no doubt that Paekche also educated the Chinese *literae humaniores* and produced various academic scholars, many of whom contributed much to the development of the ancient Japanese culture. Two representative scholars among them were A-Chikki and Wangin (Wani). The former was a teacher of the Japanese prince who became Emperor Ohohjin of Japan, and the latter brought ten copies of the Analects of Confucius and one copy of The Thousand Character Classic, a basic text for teaching Chinese letters, to the Japanese.

Last, like the *Kyongdang* of Koguryo, the Silla Kingdom (57 BC-AD 935) also had a unique educational system called *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth) for the elite youth of the aristocratic class who dedicated themselves to moral, emotional, and physical cultivation, as well as political and military training (Iryon, 1285; Kim, 1145). In his article Korean Taoism and Shamanism, Chai-Shin Yu (1988) said that "The Hwarang was a kind of educational and social institute for young men who met as a group to learn Buddhistic, Confucian and Taoist classics, military techniques, and to enjoy such activities as singing, dancing, games, and visiting mountains" (p. 104). The exact date

of the foundation of the *Hwarang* was not revealed in the ancient Korean historical records, but *Samguk-sagi* (Kim, 1145) noted that *Hwarang* appeared at the end of King Chinhung's reign (540-576). In addition, *Samguk-yusa* (Iryon, 1285) mentioned many stories about the *Hwarang*. One of the specially noteworthy facts among the above records was that in the early stage of the institution the elite ladies' *Hwarang* existed, but that in the mid-sixth century only the men's *Hwarang* group lasted (Kim, 1145). In point of Korean educational history, considering the circumstances of the restricted aristocratic society in the Silla period, the existence of the elite ladies' institution was a very remarkable event.

The educational thoughts of the Silla Kingdom were combinations of the traditional way of life of the tribal communities with the new Chinese imports of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism (Han, 1988; Song, 1986; Yu, 1988). As a matter of fact, the *Hwarang* youth honored the *Sesok-Ogye* (Five Secular Commandments) as the basic creed of life for the *Hwarang*. The Five Commandments are: (1) to serve the King with loyalty, (2) to serve one's parents with filial piety, (3) to practice faithfulness in friendship, (4) to never retreat in battle, and (5) to refrain from wanton killing (Kim, 1145). As the above creed shows, the first four commandments include Confucian ideas, such as loyalty, filial piety, fidelity, and courage, while only the last one is related to Buddhist's religious precept, that is, prohibition of animal killing.

In *Sesok-Ogye's* view, the ideas of Confucianism and Buddhism were the *Hwarang's* main educational ideas to provide ethical guidance to the people and to set up hierarchical authoritative systems as tools for protecting the nation and its throne. Accordingly, the curricula of the *Hwarang* put a stress on military aspects rather than academic aspects, and the main function of the *Hwarang* was to cultivate military skills and power. Many of the *Hwarang* youth were major contributors to the unification of the Korean peninsula.

On the other hand, in terms of the classical Confucian education, Silla was far behind Koguryo and Paekche in

adopting Chinese educational systems like Buddhism and Confucianism. The National Academy (*Kukhak*) was established by King Sinmoon in 682 (Kim, 1145), following the unification of the Korean peninsula. The Silla academy, after the pattern of the Chinese *Tang* Dynasty's (618-906) educational system, emphasized Confucian learning not only to build authoritarian political structure but also to sustain traditional aristocratic privilege. It was opened to scions of the aristocratic class between the ages of fifteen to thirty, and the course of study spread over nine years. There were three levels of study: (1) Book of Rites, Book of Change, Analects of Confucius, and Classic of Filial Piety. (2) *Tso-Chuan* (the Tradition of Tso interpretation of the Spring and Autumn Annals), Classic of Song, Analects of Confucius, and Classic of Filial Piety. (3) Book of History, Literary Selections, Analects of Confucius, and Classic of Filial Piety (Kim, 1145, p. 582; Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 40; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 83). The other Chinese texts beyond the required subjects were Book of History, Book of Poetry, The Three Chinese Historical Records, and Chinese Literary Selections.

In the 16th year of King Seongduk (AD 717), portraits of Confucius, the ten Confucian sages, and seventy-two Confucian disciples were brought from China and placed in the National Academy. Under the period of King Kyongduk (742-765), the national institution was renamed the *Taehakgam* (National Confucian Academy) (Kim, 1145, p. 582). In the 4th year of King Wonseong (AD 788), the first state examination, named the *dokseo-sampumkwa* (three gradations in reading), was held in order to select government officials through examination in the three levels of proficiency in reading the Chinese classics (Kim, 1145, p. 165). Although the examination was modeled on the Tang's examination system (Ping Wen Kuo, 1915, pp. 41-45), it had a significant meaning as the first national examination which became a sample of the state or public examinations in the Koryo and the Choson Kingdoms.

Briefly speaking, elite education in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom tended to be focused on not only the

study of the Chinese classics of Confucian orientation to establish their aristocratic political and social systems, but also the study of military arts related to Buddhist values to protect their states and peoples. In particular, taking Buddhism into consideration as a national religion to defend each state, the study of military arts in the Three Kingdoms period was closely related to Buddhism as the national ideology.

In general, therefore, Confucian education had an impact on the establishment of social and political principles, as well as academic institutions, while Buddhism and Taoism had influence on the political and military organizations, as well as religious life.

2. The Koryo Dynasty (918-1392)

Like *Taehak* and *Kukhak* in the Three Kingdoms, Koryo had educational institutions to foster the elite who lead its aristocratic society and to keep their hereditary political and economic privileges. Koryo already had elite schools in the capital, Kaeseong, and Pyoungyang in the first King Taejo's reign (918-943) (Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 47; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 119). King Taejo, an ardent Buddhist, adopted Buddhism as a state religion and positively encouraged learning to set up a new unified dynasty. In the 10th year of King Seongjong (AD 992), a pious Buddhist and Confucian, the *Kukchagam* (the National Academy or University), which followed an example of the Tang Dynasty's educational system (Ping Wen Kuo, 1915, p. 40), was established in the capital. According to the record of *Koryo-dokyung* (the Charted Account of the Koryo Kingdom) written by *Hsu Ching* (1091-1153) of Sung China, Koryo founded *Kukchagam* and selected well-prepared Confucian officials.

This institution included three colleges: *Kukchahak* (Higher Chinese Classical College), *Taehak* (High Chinese Classical College), and *Samunhak* (Four Portals College). Subsequently, during King Injong's reign (1122-1146), the institution added three colleges: *Yurhak* (Law College), *Seohak* (Calligraphy Col-

lege), and *Sanhak* (Accounting College). The six colleges all came under the *Kukchagam*. Each college had different entrance qualification, curricula, and instructors. The *Kukchahak* admitted the sons and grandsons of civil and military officials above the third rank. The *Taehak* was open to the sons and grandsons of officials above the fifth rank and the great grandsons of officials of the third rank. The *Samunhak* was devoted to the sons of officials above the seventh rank. Last, the sons of civil and military officials of the eighth and ninth, as well as the common people, were admitted to study at one of three special colleges: *Yurhak*, *Seohak*, and *Sanhak*. The curricula of *Kukchahak*, *Taehak*, and *Samunhak* were mainly the Chinese classics: the Five Chinese Classics, the Classic of Filial Piety, and the Analects of Confucius. The other schools' curricula were each technical areas, such as law, Chinese calligraphy, or accounting. The instructors of the first three institutions were *Paksa* (Learned Doctors) and *Chokyo* (Assistant Doctors), while the second three schools' were *Paksa* (Learned Doctors).

As to local education, King Seongjong (981-997) brought sons of the local high officials to study in Kaekyung and then sent the *Paksa* of the Chinese classics and medicine to twelve main cities in order to educate sons of local aristocrats. Under Injong's (1122-1146) reign, with the expansion of the *Kukchagam* (the National Academy), local schools which were called *Hyangkyo* or *Chuhyun-hak* were established in local cities to educate local people except *Cheonmin* (the Mean people) and the sons of Buddhist monks.

In the Koryo period, the national and local educational systems were closely related to the civil service examinations originally devised in China as ways for selecting the governmental officials. The examination systems were established in the 10th year of King Kwangjong (958) and composed of three basic types: *Chesul-up* (the Examination of Chinese Literary Composition) concerned Chinese literature, *Myong-kyong-up* (the Examination of Chinese Classics) related to Confucian canonical works, and the others called *Chap-up* (the Miscellaneous Examinations), such as law, accounting, calligraphy, medicine, divination, and

geomancy (Byungdo Lee, 1986; Kibaek Lee, 1984; Seongmoo Lee, 1994). The first and second types were examined for the purpose of choosing government officials, while the third was held to select various specialists to serve in various government offices. Considering Koryo's aristocratic political grade organizations and rigid social status systems, the *Chesul-up* was more important than the *Myong-kyong-up* because the aristocratic class esteemed Chinese literary attainments more than classical Confucian scholarship. Indeed, the standings of the above two examinations were higher and more important than the miscellaneous examinations. Regardless of the above examination systems, sons of hereditary aristocrats above the fifth grade were exempted from examinations and possessed special privileges for political or social status automatically. Thus, the systems were only tools to maintain the aristocratic organizations in Koryo society, but they did not play leading roles for changing the practical social structure.

On the other hand, private institutions rose in Munjong's reign (1046-1083), with esteem for the policy of both Buddhism and Confucianism. Choi-Chung, one of the greatest Confucian scholars in Koryo, opened a private academy in the capital as a precursor of the Twelve Assemblies (*Sibi-do*) for the offspring of aristocrats. Most of the men who established the *Sibi-do* were former governmental officials and famous Confucian scholars of the day who had administered the examinations of the country. With the private academies flourishing, the state schools gradually declined, and most aristocrats considered that it was a greater honor for their sons to attend the *Sibi-do* than the National Academy (Choo, 1961; Byungdo Lee, 1986). Concerned with these circumstances, King Yejong (1103-1122) set up lectures given in seven areas of study in the National Academy as follows: Book of History, Book of Changes, Rituals of *Chou*, Book of Rites, Classics of Songs, and Spring and Autumn Annals (Choo, 1961, p. 13; Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 55). King Injong (1122-1146) again extended the National Academy, including the six colleges in Kaekyung, and completed the national educational systems, with setting up governmental local

schools (Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 57; Kibaek Lee, 1984, pp. 119-120). After that time, although the name of the *Kukchagam* was changed into *Kukhak* (King Wonjong's reign: 1271) and then *Seongkyunkwan* (King Chungson's rule: 1308-1313), the basic characteristics and systems of the academy remained almost the same.

In summary, although the national academy and local institutions existed in the Koryo period, most schools were only opened to the offspring of aristocratic families as tools to maintain their political, economic, and social privileges. Particularly, the aristocrats regarded Confucianism as an orthodox doctrine which guided social ethics and centralized bureaucratic political systems. Accordingly, Confucianism contributed much to Koryo society and politics through education. Of course, Buddhism as a state religion also played a prominent part in the state's government and society and overall ministered to the people's spiritual needs through Buddhist politicians and monks. Additionally, the ideas of geomancy, divination, and Taoism were also parts of the religion and spiritual life during the Koryo period (Song, 1986). In brief, Koryo rulers generally accepted both Confucianism and Buddhism as the doctrines for achieving personal cultivation, physical and spiritual salvation, social ethics, and political systematization. In the late Koryo period, however, Buddhism gradually declined, but Confucianism energetically awakened, with the acceptance of Neo-Confucianism from China.

3. The Choson Dynasty (1392-1910)

Elite education in the Choson Dynasty will be divided into two parts: the early Choson period (1392-1880) and the late Choson period (1880-1910). In terms of Korean educational history, the late 19th century was a pivotal period on which the traditional educational systems and elite educational academies were declined by Western missionaries and Japanese politicians.

(1) Early Choson Period (1392-1880)

Unlike the Koryo rulers, the founders of the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910) accepted Neo-Confucianism as the basic principles of national politics and ethics for social and educational institutions (Kibaek Lee, 1984; Palais, 1996). From the beginning of the Kingdom, its rulers emphasized Confucian education to train the civilian bureaucrats who could lead their people, and to edify the people who could follow Confucian ethics and values. For this reason, the ruling class suppressed Buddhism, Taoism, and other traditional folk beliefs, while they positively promoted Confucianism as the core of state policy and education.

Thus, to practice political ideals of the rulers, in the 11th year of King Taejong (AD 1411) *Obu-hakdang* or *O-hak* (Five Schools) were established in the capital city, Hanyang (today's Seoul), and *Hyang-Kyo* (Local Confucian Schools) in each *eup* (the seat of a town office) as the secondary level. According to Yong-Ha Choo (1961, p. 39) and Byungdo Lee (1986, p. 98), the Five Schools were in the capital city until the 27th year of King Sejong (1445), but the name of the schools was later changed into *Sabu-hakdang* or *Sa-hak* (the Four Schools) from the 29th year of King Sejong (1447). The location of each school was as the following: (1) *Chung-hak* (Central School) was located in the middle of Hanyang; (2) *Nam-hak* (Southern School) in the south; (3) *Suh-hak* (Western School) in the south; and (4) *Dong-hak* (Eastern School) in the east.

Additionally, private institutions, *Seowon* and *Seodang*, were set up by provincial Confucian scholars and village volunteers. The former generally educated the talented local youth of the *Yangban* (the ruling class); the latter carried out elementary education for the country's boys of the *Yangban* and the commoners. Yangbans were two orders of officialdom, civil and military bureaucrats, as the ruling class. In general, the Yangban called the civil governing class alone. They became civilian officials through the Kwa-keo (the government examinations) and then occupied many privileges. However, the offspring of the upper officials of the second rank and above, who possessed a variety of special privileges, became officials without taking the

examinations. Therefore, the Yangbans dominated the government, economy, education, and culture of Choson. Operational and technical education (*Chonghak*) in the areas of foreign languages, medicine, astronomy, law, and arithmetic were generally conducted by the government, but each field was mainly handled by the *Chungin*, the common class of hereditary occupational group functionaries.

For elite education, *Taehak* or *Seongkyunkwan* (Hall of Harmony or the National Confucian Academy) the highest educational institute was built in the capital city under King Taejo's reign (1392-1398) (An, 1996; Choo, 1961; Byungdo Lee, 1986; K. Kang, 1976). The *Seongkyunkwan* overall succeeded to the organizations, curricula, and functions of *Kukchagam*, *Kukhak*, or *Seongkyunkwan* in the Koryo period (918-1392). The organization of the National Academy included the following: one *Taesa-s*[illegible]*g* (president), two *Sa-seong* (vice presidents), three *Sa-ye* (managers of educational subjects), four *Chik-kang* (lecture guides), three *Paksa* (scholars), three *Hak-rok* (school registrars) and so on (Choo, 1961, p. 35; Byungdo Lee, 1986, p. 97). The students, the offspring of the *Yangban*'s bureaucrats, of the *Seongkyunkwan* consisted of two hundred *seng-won* (classics licentiates or students) and *chin-sa* (literary licentiates or students). When there were any vacancies among the two hundred student numbers, priority to fill them was given to the *Sabu-hakdang*'s or *Sahak*'s (Four Schools) honor students who had completed all courses of the school.

The curricula of the *Seongkyunkwan* included *Ku-che* (Nine Subjects), that is, *Sasheo* (the Four Confucian Books) and *O-Kyung* (the Five Chinese Classics), which were instructed by various teaching methods: *kangdok* (reading), *ui* (composition), *non* (argument), *pyo* (persuasion), *song* (praising), *myong* (epigraphy or calligraphy), and *cham* (epigrammatic poetry). The examinations of the National Academy were taken daily, weekly, and monthly. The results were classified into *dae-tong* (high pass), *tong* (pass), *yak-tong* (fair pass), *cho-tong* (poor pass), and *bul-tong* (no pass). Someone who got a poor grade was sometimes punished or expelled from the academy. Completing

all course work, the *yusaeng* (graduates) were given the privilege to take the *Kwa-keo* (the government examinations), particularly the *Dae-kwa* or *Mun-kwa* (the Triennial Higher Examination or the Erudite Examination).

As considered above, in the early Choson Dynasty elite education was chiefly regarded as an institution for the preparation of future civilian bureaucrats who rose to political positions after passing the examinations (*Kwa-keo*). Accordingly, since the *Seongkyunkwan,* as the highest educational institution, did not fulfill its function of pursuing knowledge and truth, it was reduced to a tool for keeping the civilian examination systems. The examinations based on the Chinese classics constituted the core curricula, and the teaching methods were predominantly rote memorization and writing.

Furthermore, even provincial and private schools stressed the preparation of the students from the lower civilian examinations or advanced studies to take the higher civilian examinations. Now that Choson society was mainly directed by the *Yangban* class, who monopolized the politics and economy of the country, education was no exception. Indeed, the Choson rulers used the examination systems to protect their own interests. Although the examinations were open to the common people in appearance, they rarely got chances to pass the examinations because the Confucian academies were strictly limited to the commoners. In particular, women and *Sangnom* or *Cheonmin* (the Mean people) were excluded from the learning opportunities in public institutions. Choson society was classified into three classes: *Yangban* (the ruling class), *Pyungmin* (the common people), and *Sangnom* or *Cheonmin* (the lower people or the mean people). Generally, *Chungin* (the professional group) belonged to the common people.

Moreover, occupational or technical education was ignored by the *Yangban* class. The Chou Dynasty of China divided social classes into four strata according to occupations: scholar, farmer, manufacturer, and merchant. Following these social strata, the Choson people respected scholars but despised manufacturers and merchants. Accordingly, the Yangbans and the Commoners

ignored the two occupational groups. Furthermore, Buddhism and Taoism, including the traditional folk beliefs, were not discussed in the Confucian institutions and in the bureaucratic society of the *Yangban*.

Consequently, the Confucian educational system which depended on the *Kwa-keo*, as a backbone of the early Choson's education, was maintained until the late 19th century when the Choson Dynasty opened its door to the coercive foreign power and received the Western modern educational system. Under these fierce waves, the *Seongkyunkwan*, as the highest educational institution, was unavoidably closed the Confucian educational tradition and farewelled to the Choson's elite, particularly the alumni of the Academy.

(2) Late Choson Period (1880-1910)

A new movement which was called *Silhak* (Practical Learning) for modernization actually budded out in the late 17th to 18th century (Han, 1988, p. 322; Korean Overseas Information Service, 1993, p. 453; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 255; Radio Korea International, 1995, p. 124). A group of Choson scholars sought to devise practical ways to use academic knowledge to modernize the state (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1993, p. 453). With the introduction of Western knowledge and values adopted by the Ching Dynasty (1644-1911/1912) of China, Choson scholars endeavored to build a modernized country. Unfortunately, however, the forerunners did not achieve their goals to renovate the Confucian Choson Kingdom politically, socially, and educationally because the highly centralized bureaucratic politicians did not pay attention to the new ideology. Owing to the failure of the *Silhak* movement, the Korean people lost the chance to reform the old educational systems by themselves. Therefore, the beginning of modern education was delayed until the late 19th century.

The advent of modern schools in the late Choson period mainly appeared in three streams. The first type set up by Western Christian missionaries, the second type comprised

institutions established by patriotic nationalists, and the last type was state-operated schools.

The Christian Missionary Institutions

The first type of school which was founded by Western Christian missionaries greatly contributed to the development of modern education in Korea. In particular, Catholic missionaries were educational pioneers who taught the native letters, namely *Hangeul*, to the Korean women and men of humble birth for the understanding of Christianity before Protestant missionaries arrived in Korea in the late 19th century (The Korean National Commission for Unesco (KNCU), 1960, p. 13). Along with the first Korea-U.S. Treaty on May 22, 1882 (Allen, 1908), a number of missionaries of different denominations, Protestantism in particular, arrived and started medical as well as educational services as useful ways of carrying out their missionary work (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 334; Underwood, 1926, p. 13).

The first American Presbyterian mission work was opened by Dr. and Mrs. H. N. Allen (Koreanized name: An Ryeon), who arrived in Seoul in September, 1884 (Allen, 1908; D. N. Clark, 1986; Mckenzie, 1920; Kibaek Lee, 1984; Son, 1985; KNCU, 1960; Underwood, 1926). In the spring of the following year Rev. Horace G. Underwood (Weon Du-u), who published the first Korean-English and English-Korean dictionary, landed, and the Rev. and Mrs. Henry G. Appenzeller, Dr. and Mrs. Scranton with Dr. Scranton's mother, Mrs. Mary F. Scranton, of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church arrived (Gale, 1909, pp. 161-163; KNCU, 1960, p. 13; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 334; Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 89; Son, 1985, p. 60; Underwood, 1926, p. 9). The other American and Western missionaries, including Australian, English, and Canadian, also arrived in Korea before the end of the 19th century (Mckenzie, 1920, p. 205).

In 1885, Dr. Allen established the first Western modern hospital called Kwanghyewon (the National Hospital), as a Mecca of medical education in Korea, to provide education along with clinical practice. The hospital was further developed

to lay a cornerstone for Severance Union Medical College (the predecessor of the present Yonsei University Medical College), which opened in 1905 (KNCU, 1960, p. 13). According to Underwood (1926), the Severance Union Medical College was established in 1903 (p. 120). On the other hand, Son (1985) claimed 1904 (?) (p. 70). In 1886, Mrs. M. F. Scranton opened the Methodist Girls' School (*Ewha-hakdang*), as the first girls' school in Korea, which evolved into the present Ewha Woman's University. Underwood (1926) wrote that Ewha-hakdang opened in January, 1886.

Meanwhile, Son (1985) mentioned that the school began with a girl in May, 1886. Yu (1992) noted that Ewha-hakdang began with a governmental official's concubine on May 31, 1886. Ewha Woman's College opened with fifteen students in 1910 (Adams, 1965, p. 2; Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 89; Underwood, 1926, p. 113). Although the school began with one student, it gradually began to play a significant role in emancipating Korean women from the Confucian Choson society, giving females valuable opportunities to learn through both traditional and modern education. After Mrs. Scranton began her school for girls, Rev. Appenzeller established *Baejae-hakdang*, the first missionary higher common school or collegiate school for boys in the country, on June 8, 1886 (Bishop, 1897, p. 388; KNCU, 1960, p. 14; Underwood, 1926, p. 18). Yu (1992) wrote that H. G. Appenzeller began to teach English for two students on August 3, 1885 (p. 49).

In 1897, Sungsil School was founded by the U.S. Presbyterians (Northern) at Pyungyang, and then the school, called Sungsil Union Christian College (now Sungsil University) in 1906, was first developed as an international and union college in which the Northern Presbyterians, Northern Methodists, and Australian Presbyterians cooperated (KNCU, 1960, p. 14; Kibaek Lee 1984, p. 333; Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 90; Underwood, 1926, p. 127; H. Yoo, 1983, p. 6).

After several years of the foundation of Sungsil Union Christian College, many Christian missionary schools were established under each denomination and mission. In May, 1910,

the entire number of authorized private schools in Korea was 2,250, and 796 schools among them were established by the Western missionaries (Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 90; Son, 1985, p. 323). All Christian schools or colleges stressed the evangelical ministry, although humanistic and natural sciences were taught to the students. In the early stage, most students of Protestant missionary schools came from the non-Yangban class, including women and the lower people. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that these Christian missionaries sowed the seeds of Christianity and democratic spirit in the Korean people through education.

The Native Private Schools

The second type of institution was established in order to encourage the national spirit and to enhance national power by farsighted patriots who intended to protect their country and people against foreign imperialists. The founders recognized new ideas which would help their nation to be modernized and stressed education as a way to become a powerful country politically and economically.

In this vein, the first modern private school called the *Wonsan Haksa* (Wonsan Academy) was built by the magistrate of Teogwon county and local residents at Wonsan in 1883 to serve the growing interest in the education of the young (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 330; Son, 1985, p. 36; Yu, 1992, p. 45). The school taught the traditional Chinese classics at first and then gradually included foreign language, law, geography, and international law (Son, 1985, p. 38; Yu, 1992, p. 45). Twelve years later, in 1895 Younghwan Min opened Heunghwa School, which mainly taught English, Japanese, and land surveying (Son, 1985, p. 109). Between 1890s and 1900s the native private schools mushroomed into the capital and provincial areas (Son, 1985, pp. 125-126). However, the schools overall belonged to the secondary school or primary college level. Thus, there was no higher educational institution like a western modern university in practice. Indeed, among the above private schools, only Boseong School, which was founded in 1905, became Boseong Junior College (as a predecessor of the present Korea Uni-

versity) under the Japanese colonial period.

In those days, although many patriotic leaders promoted the foundation of higher education institutes in order to modernize their country, they did not overcome Japanese political power and the rigid Confucian systems. In terms of the development of Korean higher education, although these schools did not offer modern curricula and organizational structures of higher education institutions, there is no doubt that the schools, as the preliminary institutions for higher education, distinctively marked a turning point in the history of modern Korean education and lay a cornerstone of the nation's modern higher education.

The Royal Government Operated-Schools

In the late 19th century, the Choson government recognized the importance of Western knowledge and education through external coercive power and internal national awakening. Accordingly, in 1883, the Choson government established *Dongmunhak* (The English Language Institute) as the first governmental modern school in the capital (Radio Korea International, 1995, p. 163; Son, 1985, pp. 38-39; Yu, 1992, p. 46). Three years later, the government also set up *Yukyoung-kongwon* (The Royal English School) to educate the sons of the aristocratic *Yangbans* in English and other Western knowledge (Son, 1985, pp. 40-42; KNCU, 1960, p. 12). Although both offered Western education to train future interpreters or governmental officials, they strictly kept the traditional Confucian educational systems and curricula. The two schools were not actually the types of modern educational institutions that met the demand for new education at that time.

Unfortunately, however, before the Choson government was ready to reform traditional education by itself, political and social reform (*Kabo Kyungjang*) was carried out in 1894, receiving the Japanese forcible political demand which was to renovate the overall political, economic, and social systems of the Choson Kingdom (Han, 1988; Kibaek Lee, 1984). It is widely held that the Japanese planned the occupation of the

Korean peninsula as an advanced base to invade the Asian continent. Thus, the weak Choson Royal government had to carry out huge reforms, political, economic, social, and educational under irresistible Japanese political pressure. The reforms in the social and educational systems included the abolition of the social status system, discontinuance of the *Kwa-keo* (the government examinations) system (Brown, 1919, p. 79), and the creation of new educational systems from primary and secondary to vocational and foreign language schools. Especially, the Royal government recognized the significance of teacher training as a means of modernizing education on the foundation of primary education. In 1895, according to the so-called Royal Rescript of Education, *Hanseong* Teacher's School, as a secondary level institute, was established in *Hanseong* (present Seoul) (Son, 1985, p. 92; Yu, 1992, p. 56). At the same time, the old educational institutes except Seongkyunkwan (The National Confucian Academy) were abolished officially.

On the other hand, although the occupational schools, such as medical, law, commercial, foreign language, and technical institutes, were set up, all schools were not highly regarded by the Korean people, particularly the *Yangban* (the ruling class) who despised the occupational and technical skills (Yu, 1992, p. 61; Son, 1985, pp. 98-99). After the *Kabo* Reform (1894 Reform), the Choson government tried to change the old educational systems into modern Western types, but it did not accomplish its purpose. At that time, neither did most Korean people have an interest in the governmental education, nor did they willingly follow the governmental reform controlled by the Japanese (Kibaek Lee, 1984). Indeed, many conservative Yangbans wanted to maintain the Confucian educational tradition rather than to accept Western education instigated by the Japanese. Of course, after 1900, many young Korean nationalists were interested in the institutes founded by the national patriots, who had been active in political and educational endeavors (Son, 1985, p. 117), while Confucianists still kept their conservative tradition (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 335). However, traditional education gradually decreased due to the increase of Christian

missionary schools and the native private schools.

In the late Choson period, the Royal government did not have sufficient finances to establish the highest educational institution as a Western modern university, nor was it familiar with Western higher educational systems well (Bishop, 1897). For instance, in 1895, Seongkyunkwan, as the highest educational institute in the Choson Kingdom, did not sustain the highest educational tradition and authority, but fell to a secondary educational level institute offering the Chinese classics and secondary level Western subjects such as geology, arithmetic, and world history (Yu, 1992, p. 59). In this vein, since institutions which were founded by the Choson government commonly belonged to elementary and secondary level schools, they were not modern universities like those of the West in practice.

In summary, modern schools in the late Choson period generally appeared in three main phases: Western Christian missionaries, patriotic nationalists, and the Choson Royal government. Among the three streams, some of the Christian mission schools maintained secondary or post-secondary levels of modern university at that time, and a few of them developed four or six year colleges or universities after liberation from Japan in 1945. On the other hand, most native institutions, including the native private and governmental schools, sustained only secondary or vocational education although Boseong School alone extended its institution as a four year university after liberation. In practice, prior to the Japanese annexation (1910) of Korea, the Choson government could not provide higher education to its people because of the Japanese political power. Therefore, a budding flower of higher education in the late Choson period did not bloom in advance and was cut down by the Japanese sword.

III. Higher Education in the Modern Period (AD 1910-1990s)

Higher Education in the modern period will be examined in three parts: the Japanese colonial rule, the United States military government, and the Republic of Korea.

1. Japanese Colonial Rule (1910-1945)

Ancient Japan had close relations with old Korea culturally and politically. As John M. Maki (1945) points out, for example, Korea's greatest single early contribution to Japan was undoubtedly the transmission of the Buddhist religion (p. 125). Historically, Buddhism entered Japan from Korea about the middle of the sixth century (Cary, 1976, p. 31; Hall, 1971, p. 42; Hong, 1988, p. 139; NI, p. 65). Indeed, Buddhism had a great impact on the development of Japanese culture as well as its religion, called *Shinto*. The *Shinto*, a primitive religion of the Japanese, had been influenced by Buddhism, Confucianism, and Taoism (Holtom, 1938, pp. 5-6; Picken, 1994, pp. 10-13). Twelve centuries after, *Shintoism* was established under national and patriotic auspices and then became a national religion in Japan (Herbert, 1967; Holtom, 1938; Schurhammer, 1923, p. 1).

Despite the fact that Japan was greatly indebted to Korea culturally (Griffis, 1906, p. 337; NI, pp. 261-263; NII, pp. 61-78; Longford, 1911, p. 97), in the 19th century Japanese imperialists armed with Shintoism again landed on the seashore of the Korean peninsula to accomplish the unfinished take-over of the last decade of the sixteenth century. On arriving on the peninsula, the Japanese began to infringe upon the weak Choson

court politically and militarily. With the coercive suppression of the Choson government, the imperialists controlled the 1894 Reform (*Kabo* Reform), which was the first step of encroachment on Korea's national right, and overwhelmed the Choson Royal government with oppressive political power. In 1895, the Japanese planned the Draft of Reforming the Internal Affairs of the Choson Kingdom (KNCU, 1960, p. 14; The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 166) and forcibly demanded the Choson royal government to implement educational reform.

In 1905, having won recognition from the U.S., England, and Russia of its paramount political, military, and economic interest in Korea, Japan moved immediately to establish a protectorate over Korea, called the 1905 Protectorate Treaty (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 309). After the treaty was signed, the Choson government practically lost its national right to govern. During the Protectorate's period (1905-1910), the Japanese educational policy was chiefly the preparatory operation for colonization through the promulgation and practice of various educational ordinances and regulations. For instance, the Private School Ordinance (*Sarip-hak-kyo-ryeong*) which was promulgated in 1908 was a means for the purpose of placing under the Japanese control and suppression all those private schools administered by Christian missionaries and patriotic Korean leaders (KNCU, 1960, p. 15). Thus, the Japanese ordinance was the first step to accomplish the annexation of Korea.

In 1910, having succeeded in occupying the Korean peninsula as its colony, Japan established the prime policy of ruling Korea that aimed to let the Korean people have capacities and personalities as loyal citizens of her imperialism (The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 167). To achieve this goal, education was viewed as one of the significant political issues. Accordingly, in 1911, the Japanese colonial government proclaimed the Korean Educational Ordinance in accordance with the so-called Imperial Rescript (The Japanese Emperor Meiji Prescript) (Cheong, 1985, p. 283; Keenlyesids et al., 1937, p. 100; Sung-hwa Lee, 1958, pp. 83-84; Nam, 1962, p. 38;

The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 167; Yu, 1992, p. 126). The essential sprit of the Meiji Prescript was expressed as follows:

> Be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate the arts, and thus develop your intellectual faculties and perfect your morality. Furthermore, be solicitous of the commonwealth and of the public interest; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to serve the State. (Keenlyeside et al., 1937, p. 100)

Based on the above ordinances, the Japanese colonial administration urged elementary, secondary, and vocational education, including medical, foreign language, and teacher education. It was not until the promulgation of a new Educational Ordinance on February 4, 1922 that previous higher education institutions got an opportunity to carry out higher education again. Since the Educational Ordinance of 1911 let higher education institutions, such as Christian missionary colleges, lose their college status and be downgraded to non-degree granting schools, there was no modern university education in Korea until Keijo Imperial University (now evolved into Seoul National University) was set up by the Japanese in Seoul in 1924.

In practice, after the second Educational Ordinance, promulgated in 1922, Japan expended its regulation to colleges and permitted education at teacher's colleges (The Government-General of Choson, 1935). After issuing the second Ordinance, some Christian missionary and native private schools which had lost their college status again were upgraded as college level institutions, and some farsighted Korean leaders established several private institutions (secondary or college level) to provide more opportunities for Koreans.

On the other hand, the patriotic native leaders also promoted an educational movement to build their own private

colleges or universities (Chong Sik Lee, 1965, p. 241). To offset the above trend, in 1924 the colonial administration opened Keijo Universty, as the first modern university in Korea, under the Ordinance of University based on the Meiji Prescript (The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 486). The Government-General of Choson (1935) noted that the start of the university was a great historical event in education in the Korean peninsula (p. 486). However, the admission of the Korean people was strictly limited, and only very few Koreans, who were by and large the offspring of pro-Japanese persons or rich people, attended Keijo University, as many scions of pro-Japanese and rich people enrolled at Japanese vocational or teachers' schools. Sungho Lee (1989) wrote that the total enrollment of the Keijo Imperial University in 1934 in ten years since its establishment was 930, of which the Korean fraction was only 32 percent (p. 95). Although Keijo University was almost the same as universities in Japan in terms of quality, the department of law and literature as well as the medical department became the main characteristics of the university (The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 486).

In fact, as Byung Hun Nam (1962) mentioned, the primary motives of the establishment of this university were (1) to offer higher education for the Japanese in Korea, (2) to forestall the growing Korean nationalism, and (3) to indoctrinate the Korean elite as a pro-Japanese person or group. Indeed, some of the Koreans who studied at Keijo University faithfully served Japanese imperialists as Japanese puppets or agents who gave the Korean people serious physical and mental suffering (Banminjokmoonjeyeonkuso, 1993; Im, 1991). Furthermore, after the liberation in 1945, these Japanese agents ironically became the privileged class leading to a new Korean society (H. Choi, 1990; Im, 1991; B. Seo, 1989). On the contrary, many patriotic or nationalistic Korean people participated in an army for national independence and mainly attended the native private schools, or Christian missionary institutes instead of Japanese institutes. On the other hand, many Confucian learned men were actually reluctant to accept Western education, so that they stuck

to the Confucian educational tradition at village schools.

During World War II (1937-1945), the Japanese regime announced three educational principles of its administration as follows: (1) profound understanding of the national mission, (2) strengthening Japanese and Korean unity, and (3) dedication to labor for realization of national goals (Nam, 1962, pp. 47-48). In addition, Japanese militarism virtually reached its peak following the establishment of the puppet government of *Manchukuk* (Nam, 1962, p. 47). The Japanese colonial administration demanded the Korean people, including Western missionary teachers and students, pay homage to Shinto shrines (Palmer, 1977, pp. 139-140). Additionally, they forcibly demanded that the Koreans should use the Japanese language, instruct all classes in Japanese, and change their traditional family names into Japanese styles (Meade, 1951, p. 213).

Under the Japanese colonial rule, the Japanese imperial administration offered higher educational opportunities to the Japanese people and a few Koreans for training as an elite group to practice its imperialism or militarism. Actually, at the higher levels, the Japanese administrators gave the Korean people few chances to enter higher educational institutes and did not educate them in advanced engineering and scientific courses under their restrictive administration and curriculum policies (KNCU, 1960, p. 15). Japanese used two educational systems to discriminate between Japanese and Koreans. Those were: an educational system for persons using Japanese and the other for persons using Korean. As Jin-Eun Kim (1988) points out, it was differentiated from the privileged system for the Japanese. The Korean people were subject to limitations, especially in secondary and college education (Kim, 1988, p. 759).

For example, in 1939, there were only 1.31 Korean high school students for every 1,000 Koreans, while there were 32.70 Japanese students enrolled in high schools for every 1,000 Japanese in Korea. Inequalities were greater at colleges and at a university: there were only 0.27 Korean students in colleges and teachers' training seminaries for every 1,000 of Korean population, and 7.20 Japanese students for every 1,000 Japanese in

Korea; and there were 0.0093 Korean students enrolled in university for every 1,000 Koreans, while 1.06 Japanese university students per 1,000 of Japanese population in Korea (Grajdanzev, 1944, p. 264; Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 94; UNESCO, 1954, p. 24). The higher educational schools under Japanese colonial rule were viewed by the nationalistic Korean people as training institutes that cultivated the pro-Japanese agents serving the Japanese imperialists.

In summary, the purposes of Japanese colonial education were denationalization, vocationalization, discrimination, and assimilation, according to Han-Young Rim's (1952) analysis. Especially at the higher level, the ultimate goal of university education in Korea was the fostering of the pro-Japanese elite as faithful Japanese puppets.

2. U.S. Military Government (1945-1948)

The liberation of Korea from Japanese occupation on August 15, 1945 was a turning point in the history of Korean education. After the U.S. military forces landed on the Korean peninsula on September 8, 1945, according to the secret agreement made by Russia and America at Yalta during February, 1945 (Osgood, 1951, pp. 297-298), the Korean people underwent a sudden change from the reign of the Japanese to consultative management by American military administrators. Arriving in Korea, the U.S. Military Government began to reopen the educational system held in abeyance. On September 29, the United States Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) announced Ordinance No. 6 regarding the reopening of all previously existing educational institutions. After reopening all schools, the Military Government worked through the administrative structure left by the Japanese to make a new educational structure and system. Accordingly, on October 21, 1945 the Military Administration issued a directive as the following:

> The general policy of the Military Government on the schools of Korea south of 38 degree N. is to operate the schools

> within the existing frame work until such time as it seems wise to make changes. Since the existing system is highly centralized, when changes are made they must be made throughout the entire system. Until changes are directed by the Military Government, Military Government officers operate according to existing system. (USAMGIK Official Gazette, October 2, 1945, p. 7)

In order to accomplish the stated policy and to establish the overall educational work, the Military authorities made a National Committee on Educational Planning' composed of 80 Korean educators and public leaders as well as 10 U.S. military officers in November 1945 (Adams, 1965, p. 4). The responsibility of the committee was to set up new educational systems and philosophies to erase the remnants of Japanese colonial education. In March 1946, the committee adopted the new educational framework based on the spirit of Korean nationalism as well as the principles and systems of American education. For example, the committee adopted (1) a 6-6-4 organizational ladder, which is similar to the American educational system, (2) co-education regardless of social status and gender, and (3) American pragmatic philosophy of education as the model of Korean education. In addition, the committee adopted *Hongik Ingan* (maximum benefit for human beings), which is the legendary national philosophy of the nation's founder Dangun, as the basic philosophy of Korean education (Yoo, 1983; Yu 1992).

In terms of Korean higher education, the significant achievement of the committee was its reorganization and expansion of higher education (Adams, 1965, p. 5). Frank L. Eversull (1947), who had been working as Chief of Colleges and Teachers Colleges, USAMGIK, at that time, described the situation of higher education as follows:

> During the first year of occupation there were many conferences, plans, and discussions about the nature and the direction of higher education in Korea. In Seoul there were

> nine or ten public colleges and sixteen private colleges, which had been placed under strict supervision by the Japanese during their occupation. In addition, there were normal colleges (and two additional medical colleges) in the several provinces as well as a College of Fisheries in Fusan. (p. 52)

Just before the liberation of Korea in August 1945, according to the assertions of Sungho Lee (1989) and Byung Hun Nam (1962), there were 19 higher educational institutions and a little over 3,000 students. There are some different views: Eversull (1947) and Adams (1965) assert more than 25 institutions, while Lee (1989) and Nam (1962) claim 19 schools. In addition, Bongho Yu (1992) notes 21 schools (p. 309). The Ministry of Education (1976) notes 7,819 students and 19 schools in 1945. In November 1947, however, the number of higher education institutions reached 29 with more than twenty thousand students, with the expansion of national and private tertiary institutions (Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 101). Two of the most significant steps in the reorganization and expansion of higher education were the establishment of national universities and colleges as well as private universities and colleges. In particular, on August 22, 1946, the formation of Seoul National University (formerly Keijo Imperial University) was an epoch-making event that made it possible for the common people to enter the national university. Until that time, throughout the history of Korea, the highest national institutions had been monopolized by the aristocratic or privileged class.

The U.S. Military Government virtually planted the seed of democratic higher education in the Korean peninsula. In 1948, over 30 national, public, and private institutions of higher education were up and going. Overall, the Military Government greatly contributed to Korean higher education, introducing American educational thought, administration, organization, curriculum and instruction, and management systems.

3. Republic of Korea (1948-1990s)

The Republic of Korea was established in August 1948. With its nativity, the Ministry of Education succeeded to the Department of Education that had administered all education under the U.S. Military Government. The administrators of the Korean government had steadily discussed for over a year the construction of an educational law making the transition to the educational policy of the new government.

In December 1949, the Korean Government promulgated a basic Education Law (No. 86) drafted without any foreign political intervention or power after the late 19th century. The new Educational Law described philosophies, principles, and objectives of education in Korea. Article 1 of the Education Law stated the purpose of Korean Education as follows:

> The purpose of education is to achieve a well integrated personality, to develop the abilities for an independent life; to develop qualifications of citizenship to serve the development of a democratic nation, thus contributing toward the realization of the ideal of co-prosperity of the human race which coincides with the spirit of Hongik Ingan [maximum benefit for human beings]. (Republic of Korea, Education Law, Ministry of Education, Law No. 86, 1949, p. 1)

In addition, the purpose of higher education was also stated in Article 108 in the new Education Law as the following:

> The aim of education in the colleges or universities shall be to teach and to research the vast body of knowledge, theory and techniques which are necessary for the welfare of the nation and humanity, and to cultivate in students the character and quality of community leadership. (Education Law, Law No. 86, 1949, pp. 31-32)

The period between the establishment of the Republic of Korea (August 15, 1948) and the outbreak of the Korean War (June 25, 1950) was regarded as the first stage in the

development of a modern system of higher education in Korea (Adams, 1965, p. 9). About the time the Korean Government set up new educational systems step by step, the Korean War broke out on June 25, 1950. The War (1950-1953) brought enormous sacrifice of life and property to the Korean people and made the country miserably devastated. Despite such chaotic situations and wartime demands on personnel, the numbers of students in higher educational institutes increased during the War period because of government regulations exempting students from military conscription even in time of war (Adams, 1965, p. 11). During this period, the enrollments of colleges and universities grew from about 11,000 to 38,000, and the number of universities increased to 13 (Ministry of Education [MOE], 1954, p. 17). In views of the families of the war dead and of the veterans, the governmental regulations could have been regarded as unreasonable policies for certain privileged people.

Nonetheless, Korean higher education was consistently developing during the miserable war time. In fact, the Korean War had a great impact on higher education. Two important effects of the war on Korean higher education were: (1) the opening of evening colleges and two-year junior colleges for workers and women, and (2) the active participation of foreign agencies, particularly the American Government and private agencies, in the reconstruction of tertiary institutions. In terms of Korean higher education, the main contributions of the agencies were (1) to provide materials for college and university facilities and (2) to play active roles for the planning and rebuilding of postsecondary education. The important agencies participating in higher educational activities and projects were: the United Nations Civil Assistance Command, Korea (UNCACK), the Korean Civil Assistance Corps (KCAC), the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency (UNKRA), the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), the International Cooperation Administration (ICA), the Agency for International Development (AID), and the United States Operations Mission to Korea (USOM).

Another important contribution was the participation of American colleges and universities to give technical assistance and personnel exchange to Korean higher education. For example, George Peabody College gave assistance to the Korean government and selected institutions of teacher education from 1956 through 1961 (Adams, 1965, p. 14). In addition, the University of Minnesota helped with the improvement of a specified university from 1954 to 1962, according to the contract between the ICA/University of Minnesota and the Republic of Korea. Furthermore, an additional contribution was that the various U.S. aid programs gave many Korean people opportunities to gain American academic knowledge and advanced scientific skills in the United States. For instance, the contract between ICA/University of Minnesota and the Republic of Korea provided graduate study and observation for 225 Korean faculty members and administrators abroad from 1954 to 1962 (Adams, 1965, p. 15).

The period between the Korean War and the early 1960s was characterized by unstable political and social situations and difficult economic hardship that made the nation dependent on U.S. aid (Hyung-jin Yoo, 1983). According to Hyung-jin Yoo (1983), from 1951 to 1959, the UNKRA's aid reached $ 121,840,000 of which 7.9% was spent for education. Besides, the ICA, from 1954 to 1961, spent a little over 1.7 billion dollars in Korea in Aid, and $ 18,440,000 or 1.1% of the Aid was spent for educational work. With the ICA education aid, a number of Korean students went to the United States (Yoo, 1983, p. 9). During the above period, it goes without saying that U.S. aid greatly helped Korean higher education expand qualitatively and quantitatively. According to *Statistical Yearbook of Education* of the Ministry of Education, the Republic of Korea (each pertinent year), there was 19 tertiary institutions in 1945; 74 colleges and universities in 1955; and 162 higher educational institutes in 1965.

After the military coup d'etat in 1961, Korean higher education recognized the need for educational reform to build national identity and to industrialize the country. The new

government opened an epoch to establish a modern Korea which can stand on her own feet politically and economically and has still kept this stand. The specific description of the period between the early 1960s and the early 1990s will be deferred and drawn in Chapter Nine. Therefore, the growth of higher education during the above period is noted in brief.

In the 1970s, higher education played a significant role for Korean industrialization. Accordingly, scientific approaches and technical education were emphasized in many colleges and universities. In particular, engineering colleges were spurred to strengthen technical education demanded for the national policy. In accordance with the government policy, in the 1980s, Korean higher education grew greatly in a short period to meet the national demands for high level manpower in Korean society with her development politically, economically, and socially (Suhr, 1987, p. 8).

In the early 1990s, Korea has witnessed an educational explosion with industrialization. There were only 19 institutions of Korean higher education with a total of a little over 7,819 students at the time of national liberation in 1945 (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 179), while in 1999 the number in South Korea was reported to be 354 institutions with a total of 3,154,245 students (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute, 1999a). However, at the present time this rapid quantitative expansion of higher education has produced some social and educational problems. The author will discuss these issues in Chapter Nine.

Part Three
Religious and Philosophical Factors

IV. Buddhism in the Traditional Period
V. Confucianism in the Choson Period
VI. Christianity and Western Thoughts in the Late Choson Period
VII. Japanese Imperialism under Its Colonial Rule
VIII. American Influence: 1945-1948 (Americanism under the United States Military Government)
IX. Contemporary Thoughts

Religious and Philosophical Factors

The author intends to explore the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing Korean elite/higher education from the perspectives of educational administration, particularly three themes: organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. To examine and analyze the factors, the author will review some traditional and adapted thoughts as follows: (1) Buddhism in the traditional period (2) Confucianism in the Choson period, (3) Christianity and Western thoughts in the late Choson Kingdom, (4) Japanese imperialism under colonial rule, (5) Americanism under the United States Military Government, and (6) contemporary thoughts.

IV. Buddhism in the Traditional Period

As briefly mentioned in Part Two, Buddhism and Confucianism had a great effect on all aspects of Korean culture and society during the traditional period. In this chapter, some educational elements of Buddhism will be explored through a discussion of the Hwarang and monastic Buddhist schools in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom periods.

In Korean history, it is understood that religious factors such as Confucianism and Buddhism have had a great significance on society and culture. In the case of Buddhism, several scholars in both the West and the East have reviewed the impact of this religion on Korean culture. For example, James H. Grayson (1985) ascertains that Buddhism became a cult of the court in all of the early Three Kingdoms (p. 59); Janine Sawanda (1985) views *Maitreya* [*Miruk* in Korean] Buddha as a typology of past Korean eschatological traditions; Robert E. Jr. Buswell (1989) indicates that "Three Kingdoms Buddhism seems to have been a thoroughgoing amalgamation of the foreign religion and indigenous local cults" (p. 348); and some Korean scholars such as Ki-baek Lee (1984), Woo-keun Han (1988), and Byong-jo Chung (1996) assert that Buddhism provided sociopolitical and ethical guidance to the Korean people in the Three Kingdoms and the Koryo Kingdom periods.

In addition, several studies related to religious and philosophical thoughts which influenced premodern Korean education have been done (Hahn, 1969; Kim, 1961; Kim, 1972; Kim et al., 1983; Kim, 1984; S. K. Lee, 1995; J. K. Lee, 1997, 1998). These studies have indicated that philosophical factors based on religious ideologies have been major educational ideas in Korea. With respect to religious factors as educational ideas, Sung-Il Kim (1961), Kiun Hahn (1969), and In-hoe Kim et al.

(1983) indicated that the main religious or philosophical thoughts, such as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Christianity, had great impacts on the development of Korean education.

As illustrated in this section, many Western and Eastern scholars have researched and studied Buddhism. Moreover, many Eastern and a few Western researchers have reviewed the *Hwarang* or *Hwarang-do* (the Way of *Hwarang*) (Misina, 1943, Ahn, 1979; Hankuk-cheongsin-moonhwa-yeonkuwon, 1992; Soon Y. Hong, 1970, 1971; Seonkeun Lee, 1951; Peomboo Kim, 1981; Rutt, 1961; Silla-moonhwa-seonyanghoey, 1989). This book presented the history and culture of monastic Buddhist schools as well as Hwarang from the perspective of Silla's thought and culture, although several studies indicated the presence of the *Hwarang*'s educational thought and system (Bongsoo Kim, 1960; Kim, 1978; Park, 1962; Son, 1964, 1966). However, studies concerning the monastic Buddhist schools have yet to be initiated. Thus, this book will center on Buddhism concerned with the *Hwarang's* institutional culture and the monastic Buddhist schools in terms of premodern Korean elite/higher education.

According to important Korean historical records, such as *Samguk-sagi* (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms), *Samguk-yusa* (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea), and *Haedong-kosung-chon* (Bibliographies of Eminent Korean Monks), Buddhism was transmitted from the Chinese mainland during the Three Kingdoms period and became a means for the cultural promotion of the three states. The generally recorded date for the initial acceptance of Buddhism is the year 372 AD, when the monk Sundo came to Koguryo from the Former Chin state (Gale, 1909, p. 140; Gardiner, 1969, p. 49; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 59). In 384 AD, the Indian monk Malananda introduced Buddhism to Paekche while he was working in Eastern Chin (316-420 AD) (Gardiner, 1969, p. 49; Grayson, 1985, p. 25). In Silla, Buddhism was first disseminated during the mid-fifth century by the monk A-do who entered Silla from Koguryo (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 59). However, Grayson (1985) asserts that Buddhism existed prior to the date of official acceptance in Koguryo and Silla (p. 59). In all of the

Three Kingdoms, Buddhism was first adopted as a cult of the royal court, and then came to be supported and developed by the royal house as it was considered to be suitable as a spiritual prop for the new governing structure centered on the authority of the throne (Kibaek Lee, 1984). Grayson (1985) states that Buddhism became the cult of the court, not the dominant religion of the society (p. 59). Early royal patronage and institution as the national religion led to the widespread dissemination of Buddhism (Grayson, 1989, p. 92).

According to *Samguk-yusa*, in the last days of Koguryo, the royal court accepted Taoism as a religion of "defense of the state" rather than Buddhism. Societies like the three states were composed of strict social stratification. For example, the society of Silla was arranged according to a rigidly ranked system, the *Kolpumje* (the Bone Rank System) and 17 office rank systems. Additionally, the colored vestments system of Paekche that ranked the officialdom into sixteen grades arranged in three tiers, like the similar Koguryo's 12 office rank systems (Kibaek Lee, 1984, pp. 48-54). The Buddhist teaching of reincarnation, a rebirth based on *karma* (the law of cause and effect), was naturally welcomed as a dogma which recognized the privileged position of the aristocracy (Kibaek Lee, 1984).

In addition, Buddhism was accepted as a system of thought suited to the needs of a centralized aristocratic state headed by a ruler and played an important role as a force for unity and cohesion in the three states (Ibid., pp. 59-60). According to Buswell (1989), "Three Kingdoms Buddhism seems to have been a thoroughgoing amalgamation of the foreign religion and indigenous local cults" (p. 348). He also adds that "Autochthonous snakes and dragon cults, for example, merged with the *Mahayana* (Greater Vehicle of Salvation) belief in dragons as protectors of the *Dharma* (the Buddha's teaching), forming the unique variety of *hoguk bulgyo* ("state-protection Buddhism") that was thereafter to characterize Korean Buddhism" (pp. 348-349). Buddhism, as an esoteric philosophical formula, developed in two directions, *Hinayana or Theravada* (Southern Buddhism of Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand) and *Mahayana* (Northern

Buddhism of Tibet, China, Korea, Japan, etc.). The former emphasizes salvation as being restricted to a smaller number of people; the latter stresses salvation as being available to a larger number of people. Buddhism emphasizes that personal craving (*tanha*) as the origin of suffering and that overcoming *samsara* (the eternal karmic round of existence) is the only way to achieve salvation from the cycle of births and deaths and ultimately, nirvana.

Considering the Buddhist sects that developed during the Three Kingdoms period, there is no denying that the most significant sect was the *Vinaya*, which flourished in Paekche. Although the doctrines of the *Vinaya* emphasize monastic disciplines as the way of attaining enlightenment, at that time the monk politicians believed that the unity of belief and discipline fostered by their religion could be made to politically serve the purposes of the state (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 60).

In the late periods of Koguryo and Paekche, the *Nirvana Sutra*, which is Buddhist in nature and result in *nirvana*, was espoused by the Koguryo monk Bodeok to counter the appeal of the Taoist belief in immortality (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 61). In the case of Silla, the insights of the Nirvana Sutra were used by Silla monks, such as Won-hyo and Ui-sang (Grayson, 1985, p. 49). Nirvana is the perfect or beatific state, characterized by the extinction of desires and passions, and the transcending of the separate existence of the self (The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy, 1994, p. 263). Unlike Koguryo and Paekche, Silla Buddhism was philosophically indebted to *Mahayana* Buddhist texts such as the *Avatamsaka-Sutra* or *Hwaom* Scriptures (Flower Garland Sutra) and the *Saddharma-pundarika Sutra* (Lotus Sutra): the former stresses the doctrine of all-encompassing harmony; the latter contains the Buddha (Siddhartha Gautama who is the historic founder of Buddhism) *Shakyamuni*'s (the sage of the Shakya clan) teaching, which offers the only true way to salvation, and implicates the merging of the Three Kingdoms of being into one (B. Chung, 1996, pp. 50-51; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 81; Ross, 1981). *Hinayana* spread over into Koguryo, and Paekche Buddhism was a mixture of *Mahayana* and *Hinayana*

doctrines (Grayson, 1985). Indeed, Buddhism provided political and ethical guidance to the Korean people.

1. Hwarang in the Silla Kingdom Period

As mentioned in the above section, since Buddhism was strongly supported by the royal court, Buddhist monks provided ethical as well as political guidance. Two well-known Silla monks are Chajang, the Chief Abbot of State and Won-kwang, a royal court adviser and expounder of *Sesok-Ogye*. According to *Samguk-sagi*, Silla monk *Won-kwang* expounded the *Sesok-Ogye* (Five Secular Commandments) and undertook moral instruction to the *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth). The *Hwarang* was a kind of educational and social institute for the elite Silla youth who met as a group to learn Buddhist philosophy, Confucian morality, Taoist quietism, military techniques, and to enjoy such activities as singing, dancing, games, and visiting famous mountains and rivers. The *Hwarang* was the most prominent Buddhist institution of the Three Kingdoms according to existing Korean historical records. *Samguk-sagi* (Kim, 1145) also notes that the formal institutes of elite education in the Three Kingdoms taught the Chinese classics and Confucian texts, but there is no record indicating that they taught Buddhist sutras and Taoist philosophy. For this reason, within the limitation of Korean historical records, the author attempts to review the *Hwarang* system to explore educational ideas that were affected by some religious and philosophical factors.

The *Hwarang* youth honored the *Sesok-Ogye* (Five Secular Commandments) as the basic creed of life. The Five Secular Commandments are: (1) to serve the key with loyalty, (2) to serve one's parents with filial piety, (3) to practice faithfulness in friendship, (4) to never retreat in battle, and (5) to refrain from wanton killing (Kim, 1145). The five codes include Confucian morality, Buddhist's religious precept, and indigenous ideas. The first four codes appear to be Confucian ideas, but the fourth code of the warrior contradicts the Buddhist creed of reverence for life. It is related to the religious orientation with

other military or native attitudes. In other words, the fourth code includes Confucian concept, Buddhistic syncretism, and Silla's patriotic political ideas. The last code presents a Buddhistic precept: prohibition of animal killing. When the author turns to a consideration of the *Sesok-Ogye* itself, Confucianism and Buddhism were the Hwarang's main educational thoughts to provide ethical values and to maintain the strict social stratification as tools for protecting the state, its authoritative systems, and its throne.

On the other hand, *Haedong-kosung-chon* (c. 1215) states that the *Hwarang* instructed each other in the Way and righteousness, entertained each other with songs and games, or went sightseeing to famous mountains. Such concepts relate Taoist quietism with the Korean folk belief called *Pung-yu-do* (Refined poetic Way). Although many scholars regarded these exercises as shamanistic activities, the author argues them to be Taoistic and indigenous Korean aesthetic celebrations. This is because within the *Samguk-sagi* and *Samguk-yusa* Taoist philosophical or religious influence was already found in the Three Kingdoms period.

Despite the fact that the *Hwarang* was trained in Confucian values, Buddhistic doctrines, Taoist philosophy, and the native folk belief, the elite members of the *Hwarang* were particularly devoted to the cult of *Maitreya* (*Miruk* in Korean). They took their names based on Buddhist legendary and historical figures because they had hope that *Maitreya* (the Future Buddha) would bring about peace and the unification of the three states under Silla's rule (Grayson, 1989, p. 49). Janine Sawanda (1985) asserts that Maitreya Buddha is a typology of past Korean eschatological traditions. The Buddha would come to build a world of prosperity, an idea that is said to have played a part in Silla social resistance movements (Sawanda, 1985, p. 111). As Buswell (1989) points out, the *Hwarang's* eventual identification with *Maitreya* convinced them that tradition would regard the *Hwarang* movement as one intended to disseminate the Buddhist faith among Koreans (p. 349).

The author claims that the educational thoughts of the

Hwarang were syntheses of the ideas of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Silla nationalism with its folk belief. In summary, Confucianism had an impact on the establishment of ethical and political principles; Buddhism contributed to the political and military organizations as a cult of the royal court and state-protection religion; Taoism effected the military exercise more practically and conventionally than religiously; and the native Silla belief influenced upon its nationalism.

2. Monastic Buddhist Schools in the Traditional Period

After the unification of the Korean peninsula under the Silla elite, who were trained under the *Hwarang* troop in 668 AD, Buddhism became more complex and sophisticated. Buddhism became popular amongst the people due to Won-hyo (617-686), one of the most impressive Silla monk scholars and reformers of his days, and his devotional efforts which took hold of all strata of the society. In the Unified Silla period, Buddhism came to be seen not only as the dominant religious and philosophical mode of the state, but as its protector as well (Grayson, 1985, p. 61). The doctrinal five sects (*O-gyo)* were the Yul-jong (Disciplinary Sect), the Hwaom-jong (Avatamsaka Sect), the Popsang-jong (Fa-hsiang Sect in Chinese), the Yolban-jong (Nirvana Sect), and the Haedong-jong (Indigenous Sect). The Sects or Schools focused on the study of the Tripitaka, the Buddhist textual canon, rather than on the study of introspection and intuition. The *Son* (Zen, *Chan* in Chinese) sects followed Chinese religious and intellectual trends and adapted themselves to the shamanistic substratum of Silla's religious life (Grayson, 1985). The New Encyclopedia Britannica (1992) notes that the Chinese Chan (Zen) sect was introduced in the 8th century (Vol. 15, p. 274). There were nine schools of Silla *Son* Buddhism, which were called the *Kusan-son-mun* (Nine Mountains School of Son), each school taking its name from the mountain on which its central temple was situated (Grayson, 1989, pp. 86-91). The *Kusan* were Sumi-san, Bongnim-san, Seongju-san, Saja-san, Tongni-san, Kaji-san, Silsang-san,

Togul-san, and Huiyang-san. Chan (Zen) Buddhism was founded in China around the sixth century by an Indian monk named Bodhidharma (Darma). The Chan emphasizes meditation, aiming to awaken oneself.

On the other hand, the stream of esoteric Buddhism spread to the Silla Kingdom. One of the most important monks was Doseon (827-898), who was best known for his writing on geomancy, fortune telling, and prognostication. Korean fortune-tellers regarded him as the patriarch of their tradition in Korea (Grayson, 1989, pp. 91-92). Indeed, Buddhist monks sang, danced, and performed the shamans rituals, and Buddhism became a native component to the Silla people. In other words, Buddhism, based on simple faith in the grace of *Amitaba* (another name for the Buddha of Infinite Light and Compassion), was mixed with the native folk belief and became a popular religion (Ibid., p. 62). In the late period of the Unified Silla Kingdom, the emergence of *Son* Buddhism was both the reflection of the decaying Silla Kingdom and the development of an inward-looking individualism (Grayson, 1989). From this period *Son* (Zen) Buddhism became a dominant form of monastic Buddhism in Korea (Ibid., p. 93).

In terms of higher education, very little is known of the formal elite educational institutes in the Three Kingdoms period. In particular, within the context of modern higher education, Buddhist institutes were similar to seminaries; Confucian institutes were closely related to universities. The only sources of information are brief references in a few ancient records, such as *Samguk-sagi*, *Samguk-yusa*, and *Haedong-kosung-chon*. Based on these sources, the author infers that during the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla Kingdom periods elite education had been carried out dichotomously. One form of education was related to the classical Confucian education which adopted Chinese systems, emphasizing Confucian learning to build the authoritarian political structure as well as Confucian moral values. The other was related to Buddhist sutras and monastic schools espousing the Buddhist religious or philosophical doctrines that stressed Buddhist preaching not only to establish a

centralized aristocratic state headed by rulers but also to disseminate a national religion as state protection Buddhism. Confucian academic institutions followed formal educational structure, administrative systems, and curricula for learning, while monastic Buddhist schools employed informal educational structure, closed order systems, and religious precepts for spiritual discipline. Thus, supposing that the former would be classified into an academic educational institution to foster the Confucian elite, the latter might be considered to resemble monasteries. In a sense of modern higher education, therefore, Buddhist schools in the Three Kingdoms and the Unified Silla kingdom were informal institutes in monasteries.

In particular, from an educational administrative viewpoint, the monastic Buddhist institutions hold fast to their own organizational structure and culture as well as authoritative leadership to hand down Buddhist traditions. Although the author cannot prove their organizational structure, culture, and leadership of that time due to a lack of historical records regarding the systems of Buddhist institutions, the brilliant Buddhistic culture and many prominent Buddhist monk politicians were assumed to be authoritative leaders who exercised political power in the hierarchical organizational structure. In this sense, the researcher also assumed that Buddhist institutions were closed systems that stressed Buddhist rules and rites with coercive religious power. For instance, to practice penance for entering into nirvana, the Five Sects and the Nine Mountains Schools of *Son* (Zen) Buddhism in the Unified Silla period emphasized severe physical and spiritual disciplines to assimilate with *Maitreya* (the Merciful Buddha or the Future Budda) or *Bodhisattva* (a Buddhist saint) who attained Enlightenment.

During the Koryo period (935-1392), the bifurcated Sects of Silla Buddhism, the Doctrinal Sects (the *O-gyo*) and the Nine Mountains School of *Son* (the Korean *Son-mun*), were combined into a revived *Cheontae* School (*Cheontae-jong*) and reached its zenith. During the reign of King Kwang-jong (949-975), the *Cheontae* School and its doctrines achieved an intellectual prestige. Two monks, Chegwan (?-970) and Uitong (927-988),

were key figures in the revived Cheontae School (*Cheontae-jong*). The doctrine emphasized meditation and doctrinal study (Grayson, 1989, pp. 107-109). In the 11th century, Uichon, one of the greatest Koryo monks, attempted to unify two Buddhist sects, doctrinal schools and the *Son* schools. After Uichon's efforts, Chinul (1158-1210), a charismatic *Son* master, unified the doctrinal schools and the *Son* schools. He renamed it the Chogye-jong, which marked the ascendancy of *Son* thought in the Korean Buddhism tradition (Buswell, 1989, p. 352) and remains the prominent school of Korean Buddhism at the present time. Buddhism under the Koryo Kingdom affected on the whole nation and people politically, economically, socially, and culturally. Like Silla rulers, the Koryo rulers also regarded Buddhism not only as a state religion, which played an important part in the state's politics and society, but also as a popular faith influencing the fortunes of the nation and of the people.

With the establishment of aristocratic society, Buddhism became a key institution in Koryo and succeeded in integrating itself into the Silla's Buddhistic cultural heritage. Since Buddhism as a national religion had been a core sociopolitical ideology of Silla, the Koryo royal court needed to control Buddhist temples to maintain effective institutional relations between the court and the temples. Like Silla, Koryo viewed Buddhism as a state-protection religion. For instance, *Koryo Palman Taejangkyung* (the Tripitaka Koreana) was created to defend the state from the Mongol invasions. The whole collection consisted of nine categories of texts, including sutras, disciplinary rules, scriptural commentaries, and philosophical writings from both Mahayana and Theravada (Hinayana) traditions (Grayson, 1989, p. 124). The Tripitaka Koreana is the world's oldest existing set of Buddhist Mahayana texts (Chung, 1996, pp. 51).

Accordingly, in King Kwangjong's reign (949-975)—after the establishment of the state civil service examinations based on the Chinese classics and the Confucian texts—the examination for Buddhist monks was practiced on the model of the civil

service examination (Grayson, 1989; Kibaek Lee, 1984). Kibaek Lee (1984) notes:

> The "monk examination" was divided into two sections, one for monks of the Textual School and the other for *Son* monks, and those who passed were given cleric ranks. These graded titles started with Monk Designate (*taeson*), while the highest rank for a Textual School monk was Patriarch (*sungtong*) and for a *Son* monk, Great *Son* Mentor (*taesonsa*). Higher still than these were the titles Royal Preceptor (*wangsa*) and National Preceptor (*kuksa*), which were considered the greatest honors that monks could achieve. (p. 133)

In general, monks given cleric ranks received land allotments from the royal court and were exempt from corvee labor duties (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 133). During the Koryo period, the monks normally acquired wealth using the political power which the royal house granted them, and monasteries also expanded more wealth by setting up Buddhist endowments, relief granaries, and landing grain that was similar to monastrial usury in the medieval times of Europe (Ibid., p. 134). Toward the end of the Koryo period, Buddhism was faced with internal corruption and an external challenge, in particular which was posed by the *Sadaebu* (the Official Neo-Confucians).

With emergence of the new dynasty (the Choson Kingdom), Neo-Confucianism was adopted as the state religion and philosophy. After opening the Choson dynasty in 1392, the Neo-Confucian thought of Sung dynasty China, epitomized in the writings of Chu Hsi in the twelfth century, became the basis not only of the education curricula and the civil service examination system (*Kwa-keo*), but also of ritual practice, family organization, and ethical values for Korean society (Palais, 1996, p. 5). The Choson's Confucian bureaucrats initiated a reform to eliminate Buddhism, Taoism, divination, and shamanism by stigmatizing them as heresy. According to Hang-Nyong Song (1986), Taoism was revived as the state ritual or ceremony in the Koryo and Choson Kingdom periods, but it did not organize

itself as a religion in its own right. It became submerged in the daily life or shamanism of the popular as a folk faith (Song, 1986, p. 17). Although the Choson Kingdom (1392-1910) continued pro-Confucian/anti-Buddhist policy, Buddhist monks and laymen patriotically fought against the Japanese invasion under Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1592 and 1597. Kibaek Lee (1984) describes:

> In the course of the seven-year struggle nearly the whole of Korea's eight provinces became an arena of Japanese pillage and slaughter... The loss of cultural treasures in fires set by the Japanese troops... the animosity of the Korean people toward Japan remained alive long thereafter... Japan benefited in particular from the abduction of skilled Korean potters as prisoners of war, who then became the instruments of great advance in the ceramic art of that century. The numerous books seized by the Japanese in Korea also contributed to the development of learning in Japan, especially the study of Neo-Confucianism. (pp. 214-215)

Buddhism waned, as a result of the harsh oppression of authoritative Confucian bureaucrats during the Choson period, but managed to survive in Choson's hostile environment by providing religious consolation to the suffering masses and protecting them when the nation was in peril (Chung, 1996). Korean Buddhism still has preserved old Buddhist traditions despite extremely difficult sufferings over the past 500 hundred years. Chung (1996) indicates three significant elements of the spiritual mainstay of Korean Buddhism: (1) the pursuit of *Ekayana*, or one vehicle, (2) the protection of the *Dharma*, the Buddha's teachings, and (3) the spirit dedicated to rendering benefit to everything in the universe. Although the author generally agrees with Chung (1996)'s view, he adds two factors: one is a popular form of Buddhism which was mixed with Korean folk belief and traditional Buddhist schools, such as doctrinal sects and *Son* schools; the other is that private support and interest of some monarchs and Confucian scholars were also important.

For example, during the Munjong's reign (1450-1452), the Buddhist examination was revived. King Sejo (1455-1468), the 7th king of the Choson dynasty, actively supported Buddhism. In addition, Manjung Kim (1639-92), one of the Neo-Confucian literati, also supported Buddhist doctrines or elements as indicated in his two novels, *Sassinamjeongki* (The Southern Journey of Lady Sa) and *Kuunmong* (The Cloud Dream of Nine).

Considering Choson Buddhism in terms of higher education, since Confucianism as a key institution occupied the entirety of academia, Buddhism was only concerned with the survival of its religious tradition as a ministerial and meditative institution. Unlike the Unified Silla and Koryo Buddhism, Buddhist sects and schools were reduced to a limited number of officially sanctioned sects. Buswell (1989) wrote that in Sejong's proclamation of 1424, the *Chogye*, *Cheontae*, and *Vinaya* schools were amalgamated into a single *Son* (Meditative) school, and remaining scholastic schools were merged into the *Kyo* (Doctrinal) school (p. 352). Accordingly, during the Choson period Buddhism minimized the doctrinal sects and the *Son* (Zen) schools, with abolition of the monk examination except in the Munjong era. Instead, new regulations were adopted for obtaining monk's certificates, making ordination much more difficult (Buswell, 1989, p. 352).

Judging from the above facts, there was no Buddhistic academic higher educational institute, in the modern educational sense. However, Choson Buddhism had religious monasteries that preserved Buddhist traditions and upheld the standards both of Buddhist teaching and of monastic discipline. Considering the ecclesiastical function only, Choson Buddhist schools can be compared with Western monasteries in the Middle Ages. On the other hand, in terms of educational administration—in particular three themes, the organizational structure, culture, and leadership—Choson Buddhist schools maintained the religious traditions of the monastic order in the community of monks (*Sangha*).

In summary, Buddhist schools in the traditional period were closely related to the informal religious monasteries in efforts to foster elite monks. Historically, Korean Buddhism had a dog-

matic system with authoritative power and monastic organizational culture which emphasized religious rites and rituals. Overall, Buddhism had an impact on Korean formal elite education spiritually and religiously, although the Three Kingdoms and Unified Silla Kingdom Buddhism occupied the whole national and social systems practically, spiritually, and religiously. On the other hand, the Choson Buddhism, as a religion of the suffering masses, affected the people spiritually and religiously.

From an educational administrative viewpoint, the Great Mercy and Compassion based on the spirits of *Maitreya* and *Bodhisattva* have been composed of a main factor of organizational culture as an important ethical value in Korean higher education. In addition, based on the *Dharma* (the teaching of Buddha), *Palcheong-do* (the Right Eightfold Way) has been one of the inner elements of leadership to Korean educational administrators, with Confucian moral concepts. The *Palcheong-do* is defined as: right understanding, speech, conduct, vocation, effort, mindfulness, concentration, and thought. In considering the previous historical facts, Buddhism had a significant impact on the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo Dynasty spiritually and culturally. Furthermore, Confucianism has dominated the whole Korean education systematically as well as spiritually and will be further discussed in the following chapter.

V. Confucianism in the Choson Period

Along with Buddhism, Confucianism has been the main current of traditional thought in Korean society. Confucian learning had a particularly significant impact on premodern elite education in the early Korean nations and continues to the present time. Two important ancient Korean historical records, *Samguk-sagi* (Historical Record of the Three Kingdoms) (Kim, 1145) and *Samguk-yusa* (Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms) (Iryon, 1285), indicate that the first formal institution of elite education in Korea, *Taehak* (National Confucian Academy), was built in AD 372 and mainly taught the Confucian classics and Chinese ideas.

In consideration of related Confucian studies, a number of Western and Eastern thinkers began to study Confucius and Confucianism in the twentieth century, evaluating the impact of Confucianism on the Western and the Eastern worlds. For instance, H. C. Creel (1949) notes that "Confucianism contributed to the development of Western democracy is often forgotten" (p. 5); Max Weber (1947) views Confucianism as "The doctrine of the Literate" (p. 144); Yu-lan Fung (1966) regards Confucius as the first teacher or educator (pp. 38-40); H. Fingarette (1972) estimates that Confucianism is "worldly teaching or a parallel to Platonist-rationalist doctrines" (p. 1); R. Moritz (1990) assesses that Confucius already belongs to the great teachers of the world culture; and J. Chen (1993) judges that "Confucianism today is challenged by great rivals with the advent of western thought and way of life, and a new social order, brought about by the industrial age" (p. 5). Moreover, some Western and Eastern scholars (de Bary, 1996; Hart, 1993; Hofstede & Bond, 1988; Kihl, 1994; Psacharopoulos, 1984; Tu, 1996) reviewed Confucianism in the context of Korean culture.

They generally viewed Confucian values and culture as catalysts in the process of industrial modernization, scientific higher education, economic revival, and sociopolitical westernization in Korea.

As mentioned above, many Western and Eastern theorists have studied Korean Confucian values and culture over time. On the other hand, as for the studies of Confucian education, especially *Seongkyunkwan* or *Kwa-keo* systems in the Choson era, Young-Ha Choo (1961), Cheonje Shin (1988), Cheonsik Shin (1990), N. Chung (1992), Seungwon Lee (1995), and Seongmoo Lee (1996) studied the *Seongkyunkwan's* educational systems, evaluations, facilities, etc. Also, Young-Ha Choo (1961), Hongki Pyun (1987), Seongmoo Lee (1994), Choaho Cho (1996), and Wonje Lee (1996) researched the *Kwa-keo* systems and its history.

Historically, Confucianism was transmitted to Korea through continental China before the diffusion of Chinese civilization (C. A. Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1989; Yun, 1996). The royal houses of the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla, and the Koryo Kingdom espoused Confucianism as the principle of governmental and educational systems to establish the sovereign's power and to maintain political and economic privileges. Although Buddhism as a state ideology or religion had an impact on the whole of the above states sociopolitically and culturally, Confucianism was a significant means by which the educational standard of all the above kingdoms was implemented, with little conflict between the two ideologies, except during the late Koryo period.

In particular, Buddhism of the Unified Silla and the Koryo Kingdoms developed a brilliant Buddhist culture under the royal patronage, whereas Confucianism contributed to the establishment of social and political principles for the privileged class through the formal academic institutes. Max Weber, a German sociologist, writes that the official Chinese name for Confucianism was doctrine of the Literate (tr. Hans H. Gerth, 1962, p. 144). Confucianism was an ideal ethical-moral system which emphasized decorum, rites, and ceremony. From a religious

viewpoint, like Buddhism, Confucianism performed the social functions of religion, but without a god. In C. K. Yang's (1967) book, *Religion in Chinese Society*, Chapter 10, Religious Aspects of Confucianism in Its Doctrine and Practice, analyzes the supernatural and cultic aspects of Confucianism as a part of its theoretical system and as a practiced tradition. Also, both Julia Ching (1977) and Sung Bum Yun (1977) regard Confucianism as a religion of East Asia. On the other hand, Francois Houtart (1978) asserts that Korean Confucianism is not an institutional religion and that thus did not offer the base for confrontation with Christian missionaries (p. 241). In *the Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism*, Max Weber regards Confucianism as a religion of China. He says that "In the absence of any other eschatology or doctrine of salvation, or any striving for transcendental values and destinies, the religious policy of the state remained simple in form" (tr. Hans H. Gerth, 1962, p. 145).

In the history of Korea, there was little effort to control Confucianism until the late Koryo era although some Koryo Confucians did criticize Buddhism (Yun, 1996, p. 110). Buddhism, as the royal cult or state religion, maintained the most influential socio-political power among any ideologies or religions. On the other hand, Confucianism dominated formal elite education, disseminating the Confucian political-ethical values to the upper class.

In terms of elite education, during the traditional period we assume that Buddhism was a key institution for an informal elite education until the Koryo era, and that Confucianism was a minor institution for formal elite education. Information regarding Buddhist educational systems and administration is scarce, except for the *Hwarang* system or Hwarang-Way (*Hwarangdo*), whereas there are considerable sources about formal Confucian elite education during the traditional period. For this reason, in the previous chapter the author could examine only informal Buddhist education with the available sources. On the other hand, with more adequate information regarding formal Confucian education, the author focused on the institutional and

intellectual background of Confucian elite education.

To explore the main concern of this study, the examination of the historical background regarding Confucian education is essential. Since the context was already described in Chapter Two of this book, the author will analyze historical factors which had a significant impact on Korean higher education in terms of Western educational administrative theory and practice. In this chapter, the author will focus on Confucian elite education in the Choson dynasty, especially *Seongkyunkwan* (the National Confucian Academy or University) and the *Kwa-keo* (the national civilian examination) system.

From the beginning of the dynasty, Confucianism was the state core ideology to cultivate bureaucrats to lead the people and to edify those who were able to follow Confucian ethics and values. Thus, Confucianism was the standard by which all things were measured. The Choson Kingdom as a Confucian state established a strictly authoritarian bureaucratic society through formal Confucian institutes and the *Kwa-keo* system. During the Choson period, as mentioned in Part Two, there were various public and private Confucian educational institutes: *Taehak* or *Seongkyunkwan* (The National Confucian Academy or University) as the highest institute; *Obu-hakdang* or *O-hak* (The Five Schools), as the secondary schools; *Chonghak* (Royal School) in the capital city; *Hyang-kyo* (Local Secondary School) in the province; *Che-hak* (Technical or Occupational Schools); *Seowon* (Private Academy); and *Seodang* (Private Elementary Village Schools). In the 29th year of King Sejong (1447), the name of the institutes was changed into *Sabu-hakdang or Sa-hak* (The Four Schools). Among these institutes, *Seongkyunkwan* as the highest national institute surpassed the others in organizational structures, curricula, and functions of *Taehak*, *Kukhak*, *Kukchagam*, or *Seongkyunkwan* in the Three Kingdoms and the Koryo Kingdom periods. *Taehak*, as the first formal institution of Confucian elite education, was established by King Sosurim of Koguryo in 372 AD. *Kukhak*, as Silla's National Academy, was set up by King Sinmoon in 682 AD. *Kukchagam*, as the Koryo's National Confucian Academy or

University, was established in the 10th year (992 AD) of King Seongjong.

Thus, the Seongkyunkwan was a sanctuary of Korean Confucianism. Through the Confucian institutions, Choson Confucianism synthesized the Confucian traditions of the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo dynasty, with Neo-Confucianism of the late Koryo period. In addition, it developed the idiosyncratic Korean Confucianism. According to Soonmok Cheong (1983), he classified the development of Choson Confucianism into four steps: (1) political-educational ideology (the 15th century), (2) learning of mind-and-heart (the 16th century), (3) learning of ritual (the 17th century), and (4) pragmatic human attitude (the 18th century). With the Seongkyunkwan, the Confucian elite education system depended on the *Kwa-keo* system. This is because Confucian education was viewed mainly as an institution for preparing future civilian bureaucrats who rose to sociopolitical positions through passing the *Kwa-keo* examination. Accordingly, the Confucian elite education and the Kwa-keo are inseparable.

To explore educational administration in the Choson Confucian state, the author first illustrates the administrative structures of the Choson royal government and leadership of the governmental educational administrators, according to the *Choson-Wangjo-Sillok* (the Annals of the Choson Dynasty). The Annals of the Choson Dynasty, as one of the most important primary sources, has considerable information regarding the history of Choson education and administration. Next, the Seongkyunkwan and the Kwa-keo system will be examined from the perspectives of educational administration. Finally, Confucian thought which affected Choson education will be reviewed.

1. The Governmental Administrative Structure and Educational Administrators

The governmental administrative structure of the Confucian bureaucratic state was composed of the State Council (*Uijeongbu*)

and the six Ministries (*Yuk-cho*). Like the Privacy Council of Koryo, the Choson State Council was a deliberative organ, and its joint decisions were made by three High State Councilors (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 175). In addition, like Koryo's Six Boards, the *Yuk-cho* were:

> *Yi-cho* (The Ministry of Personnel) handled personnel matters for civil offices; *Ho-cho* (The Ministry of Revenue) administered the census and tax collections; *Ye-cho* (The Ministry of Rites) was responsible for the conduct of rites and ceremonies, foreign relations, government schools, and the state examinations; *Byung-cho* (The Ministry of Military Affairs) managed personnel matters for military offices; *Hyung-cho* (The Ministry of Punishments) dealt with statute law and litigation; and *Kong-cho* (The Ministry of Public Works) had charge of the state's woodlands and fishing ponds, the output of artisans at government workshops, and general construction activities. (Choo, 1961; Kibaek Lee, 1984)

The *Ye-cho* (The Ministry of Rites) as a core organization of educational administration was composed of three bureaus: *Kechc-sa, Cheonhyong-sa,* and *Cheonkek-sa.* The functions of the three bureaus are: (1) *Kechc-sa* dealt with rites, organizational systems, official chronicles, morning conferences, royal lecture, religion, decree, school administration, government civil examinations, astronomy, national funeral, etc.; (2) *Cheonhyong-sa* handled official banquet, sacrifice, royal cooking, medicine, etc.; and (3) *Cheonkek-sa*'s purpose was the treatment of ambassadors, reception of diplomatic missions, royal grants, tribute, etc. In particular, educational matters were dealt with at the *Kechc-sa.* The Ministry of Rites was administrated by three ministerial officials, that is, *panseo* (the minister), *champan* (the first vice minister), and *cham-ui* (the second vice minister). In addition, three officials, as chiefs of the bureaus, who assisted the ministerial officials controlled the three bureaus. Although the *Ye-cho* was the central organization of educational administration, the other high ranking officials, such as *Kyung-yon-cheong* (The Office of Royal Lecture), *Kyoseokwan* (The Office of Censors),

Hongmun-kwan Taechehak (The Great Chancellor of Literature), and *Taesa-seong* (President) of the Seongkyunkwan, participated in the important educational decisions and had a powerful influence on the direction of education.

In considering the educational administrative tasks and duties, the core educational administrators were responsible for preparing the bills for the educational laws and regulations, such as *hakryung* (the ordinance of learning) and *hakgyo-kyubeom* (standards of schooling), managing school finance and facilities, designing teaching methods and curricula, administering faculty and student personnel, and dealing with the *Kwa-keo* (the national civil service examinations), and others. In practice, the key educational administrators usually shared their influence with other high ranking governmental officials because policy recommendation was collegial, based on consensus. Under the sovereign power, all important national affairs were managed and ruled by the king, but according to royal regulations, the ruler should attend an administrative meeting in the morning (*cho-i-cheong-jeong*). In addition, the king regularly attended the *kyungyon* (royal lecture) to discuss important current affairs as well as to read the Confucian classics with high ranking officials and renowned elderly Confucian scholars.

Although the government organization as a formal rational system had a highly vertical bureaucratic organizational structure, the educational administrators discussed educational affairs with other officials before they reported to the king. Additionally, the high ranking officials were able to have an audience with the king. Judging from Western organizational theorists' view, the organizational structure of educational administration under the Choson dynasty maintained Weber's traditional authority and Minzberg's machine bureaucratic type.

On the other hand, the king and the high ranking educational administrators generally allowed discussions and consultations to undergo positive decision making process. Accordingly, from the viewpoint of Thompson's organizational theory, the organizational structure of the Confucian educational administration was assumed to be a rational system perspective

to the technical level. Based on a centralized bureaucracy, the upper educational administrators usually practiced authoritarian leadership rather than democratic leadership. However, at times they had a preference for participative leadership. Overall, organizational culture of the Choson's educational administration preserved a closed system, with formal authoritarianism based on Confucian norms, values, and rituals.

2. Seongkyunkwan (The National Confucian Academy)

The Seongkyunkwan (the National Confucian Academy or University) was built in the capital city (present Kesung) under the rule (1392-1398) of King Taejo, the founder of the Choson dynasty, after modeling the *Kukchagam* (Koryo's National Academy or University). The Seongkyunkwan means Hall of Harmony which symbolizes the cultivation of a balanced individual. H. S. Galt (1929) cited the name of SeongKyun from the Rites of Chou (*Chou Li*, in Chinese) as the following:

> These (students of mediocre ability) were placed in a more remote position in the College of Perfection and Equalization (Cheng Chun, *Korean SeongKyun*) until they received honor at the higher libation. (p. 33)

Also, Byung-ju An (1996) wrote that the name Seongkyun was borrowed from the Book of Rites, one of Confucian classics (p. 134). From the record of the *Choson-wangjo-sillok* (the Annals of the Choson Dynasty), the educational objectives of the Seongkyunkwan were (1) to build Confucian moral principles, (2) to cultivate a balanced personality through Confucian sages, and (3) to foster the virtuous Confucian bureaucrats. Confucian moral principles fall into two categories: (1) building the ideal life of individuals, and (2) achieving the ideal social orders. In order to achieve these principles, Confucius conceived benevolence or humanity (in Chinese *jen* or *ren*) as the major paradigm of goodness, with sub-paradigms like righteousness (*ui* Chinese *i* or *yi*), rites (*je* Chinese *li*), wisdom (*ji* Chinese *chich*),

loyalty (*chung*), filial piety (*hyo* in Chinese *hsiao*), trust (*shin*), etc.

Based on the Confucian ethical principles, school administrators emphasized the mutual relationship of the Three-Bonds (*Samkang*) and the Five Codes of Ethics or Five Relationships (*O-Ryun*) as a key principle of schooling: ruler/subject; father/son; husband/wife; the old/the young; and friend/friend. Confucius asserts that the purpose of education is to make possible for the individual to live a good life in the community and state. Accordingly, moral cultivation was a core educational goal. The ultimate political doctrines were (1) self-cultivation, (2) family regulation, and (3) political rule. Choson society needed virtuous Confucian bureaucrats, named *kunja* (men of virtue or gentlemen) or *seonbi* (virtuous Confucian scholars), because an ideal Confucian state could be achieved through civil bureaucrats who practiced self-cultivation and harmonized their families. Thus, rectifying names (*cheong-myung*) and sincerity (*seong*) were stressed as the politician's main creed.

The National Academy (Seongkyunkwan) consisted of many buildings, such as the *Myung-ryun-dang* (the lecture hall of students), the *Mun-myo* (the Confucian Shrine), a library (*Chon-kyungkak*), two dormitory buildings for the students (*Dong-Seo-Yangche*), a ceremonial room (*Yukil-kak*), a dining room, and auxiliary facilities. The *Mun-myo* consisted of *Daeseong-chon* (the Confucian Temple of the Great completion), and the west and the east *Mu* (adjoining rooms to Daeseong-chon). The Confucian Temple was consecrated with Confucius at the top, then the four core Confucian sages (Yen-tzu, tseng-tzu, Tzu-ssu, and Mencius), and then the ten most conspicuous Confucian disciples. In addition, in the two adjoining rooms were consecrated seventy disciples of Confucius, and prominent Chinese and Korean Confucian scholars. Thus, the Seongkyunkwan was not only the highest national institute of Confucian learning but also the supreme Confucian sanctuary to offer up Confucian sacrifices and rites.

According to *Kyung-kuk-dae-chon* (1485) (the Great National Code) that was promulgated in the second year of King Sejong's

reign (1471) despite some minor revisions, the organization of the Seongkyunkwan was changed several times during the Choson Kingdom period. The organizational structure of the Seongkyunkwan was headed by a *Ji-sa* of *Cheong-i-pum* (the Governor of the Second Degree among the eighteen official position-class), two vice governors (*Dong Ji-sa*), one acting president (*Taesaseong*), two vice presidents (*Sa-seong*), three curriculum managers (*Sa-ye*), four lecture guides (*Chik-kang*), and other faculty members. In the 8th year of King Sejong (1446), the total number of staff and faculty was 69. The students, sons or grandsons of the Yangban's bureaucrats, of the Seongkyunkwan constituted two hundred *seng-won* (classics students) and *chin-sa* (literary students). During the Choson period, intellectual training or schooling was not viewed as an essential part of women's education because male dominant Confucian society stressed the inculcation of feminine virtues and their limitation to the domestic sphere. Thus, women were excluded from all public and private institutes. Only some literati taught the basic Confucian texts to their daughters at home.

As the author mentioned in discussion of the curricula and instruction of the Academy in Part Two, the curricula of the National Academy was primarily composed of *kang-kyung* (reading) and *chesul* (writing or composition) about Confucian classics (the Four Confucian Books and the Five Chinese classics), Chinese history, and various writing styles of Chinese calligraphy. The students at the Seongkyunkwan were encouraged to practice their learning by various teaching methods, such as reading, writing, discussion, praising, and examinations. Additionally, they participated in the Confucian rituals and paid reverence to the Confucian sages, who were of great importance to Confucian education. Such a formal ritual tradition became a main stream of customary practices in Confucian society. On the other hand, they were given considerable autonomy to cultivate their learning and great privilege to take the *Kwa-keo*. For example, students sometimes tried to reflect their opinions on educational or national policies and protested against unreasonable educational administration. The students were allowed

extra-curricula activities, although the school authorities controlled and supervised them under strict ordinances and regulations.

In consideration of the administrative structure of the Seongkyunkwan, the Academy, like the royal government, also had a highly vertical or centralized organizational structure and exercised authoritarian leadership, as each position was stratified according to the 18 official position-classes. In addition, the seating position was based on rank determined by the order of official position and age. Thus, considering the organizational structure, the seating position, and the curriculum and instruction of the National Academy, the author concludes that the organizational culture of the Academy was a closed system that maintained formal authoritarianism, monologic communication, and an age-ranking system based on Confucian values, norms, and rites.

3. Kwa-keo (The National Civil Service Examination) Systems

The Confucian educational system relied on the *Kwa-keo* (the national civil service examination), as a mainstay of the Choson's education which was modeled the Chinese civil examination systems. The examination system traced its origin to the most ancient Chinese history, particularly the reign of emperor Yao-shun (2357-2205 BC), and was much developed during the Chou (1122-255(?) BC), Chin (255-206 BC), and Han dynasties (349 BC-AD 220) (Galt, 1929, pp. 152-153; Kuo, 1915, pp. 7-8). In Korea, *dokseo-sampumkwa* (three gradations in the reading) which was held in the 4th year (AD 788) of King Wonseong in Silla was the origin of the first state examination, but the *Kwa-keo* systems were established in the 10th year (AD 958) of King Kwangjong after modeling on the Chinese civil service examinations (Young-Ha Choo, 1961; Kibaek Lee, 1984; Seongmoo Lee, 1994).

The *Kwa-keo* was the national civil service examination

based on the Chinese classics which determined the selecting of administrative bureaucrats. The Choson rulers used the examination systems to establish their sovereign power and to keep their own privileges and interests. The *Yangban* (the ruling class) monopolized the examinations for appointment to civil offices. Although the examinations were opened to commoners, they seldom received opportunities to pass the examinations because the Confucian public and private schools were strictly limited. Thus, the examinations truly belonged to the *Yangban* who wanted to be Confucian bureaucrats. As Sun-young Park (1996) points out, success in the *Kwa-keo* was considered both a personal honor and as a matter of great pride for the entire clan and the most desirable expression of filial piety (p. 141).

In the first year of King Taejo (1392), the law of *Kwa-keo* was described in Taejo Sillok (the Annals of the King Taejo), Book 1 as the following:

> Civil and Military Service Examinations should not be managed partially... The fundamental purpose of the Kwa-keo is to select talented men for the state... The candidates for the first examination (*Cho-jang*) will be tested on the Four Books, the Five Classics, and *Tongkam* (Chinese history). According to the result of examination grades, those who passed the examination will be sent to the Ministry of Rites (*Ye-cho*). In the Ministry of Rites, the candidates will take another test (*Chung-jang* or Second Examination) in prose and poetry, and sit for an oral test at the final examination (*Chong-jang*). Thirty-three men among the candidates who passed all three examinations will be sent to the Ministry of Personnel (*Yi-cho*) to be assigned to official positions according to their talents. (Book, 1, July *Cheongmi*, the first year of King Taejo)

The *Kwa-keo* examinations, which were held every three years (*Siknyon-si*), administered three kinds of tests and sometimes special tests (*Teukbyul-si*) were given to commemorate important national events. According to *Kyung-kuk-dae-chon* (1485), the Kwa-keo was divided into civil, military, and miscellaneous examinations. First, Civil Service Examinations were

held on two levels, *Daekwa* or *Munkwa* (Higher level) and *Sokwa* or *Samasi* (Lower level), to promote successful candidates to official positions in the civil administration. For participation in the *Munkwa* (Higher level), candidates should take preliminary tests, *Saengwon-kwa* (the Confucian Classics Examination) or *Jinsa-kwa* (the Chinese Literary Examination). Both examinations were composed of *Cho-si* (the first examination) and *Bok-si* (the second examination). The former was called *Hanseong-si* and *Hyang-si*, according to the places of tests. The latter was given in the capital under the supervision of *Ye-cho* (The Ministry of Rites). The subjects of the *Saengwon-kwa* were tested on composition in the Four Books and the Five Chinese Classics, and the subjects of the *Jinsa-kwa* were writing in prose and poetry. Most candidates came from the *Yangban* class. Those who passed the *Saengwon-kwa* or *Jinsa-kwa* were qualified to apply for the *Munkwa*, as the higher level civil examination which was composed of three examinations: *Cho-si* (the first examinations), *Bok-si* (the second examinations), and *Jeon-si* (the final examinations). The first examinations were comprised of three tests (*Cho-jang*, *Chung-jang*, and *Chong-jang*) and called *Kwan-si* (Seongkyunkwan test), *Hanseong-si* (the Capital city test), and *Hyang-si* (Provincial test). The test subjects were writing the Chinese classics, history, and poetry. The second examinations were also given three tests to 33 successful candidates who passed the first examinations. The subjects were reading and writing the Chinese classics and history. The final examination was called the palace test which was held in front of the king at the royal court. The candidates were divided into three groups: 3 *Kapkwa* (A), 7 *Eulkwa* (B), and 23 *Byungkwa* (C). The top of the three persons in the *Kapkwa* group was called *Jangwon* (the highest distinction), followed by *Bang-an* and *Tamhwarang*.

Second, Military Service Examinations (*Mukwa*) were also separated into three stages: provincial, capital, and palace examinations, similar to the Civil Service Examinations. Although the Military Service Examinations were first practiced in the late Koryo period, the Choson dynasty selected military

bureaucrats occupied almost all of the farmland with their coercive political and economic power; Neo-Confucianism shaped a closed organizational system which emphasized ethical obligations and traditional collectivism based on the Three Bonds and Five Relationships; the Neo-Confucian Choson dynasty generally excluded all religious and philosophical thoughts except Neo-Confucianism; and Choson's elite education only focused on the instillation of Neo-Confucian theory and practice that contributed to the establishment of Confucian ethics and values and that supported the Yangban bureaucratic state.

For example, the ethical value system which stressed filial piety and ancestor worship within the hierarchical and reciprocal family relationship or organization was the most important factor of all other social organizations. The moral and political value systems were essential philosophical factors of self-cultivation, family-regulation, social harmony, and political doctrine or rule. In particular, respect for education was one of the key principles of Confucian cultural norms, with the family system, social harmony, and moral and political leadership.

In conclusion, Confucianism or Neo-Confucianism was a political, social, and educational system itself in the Choson period, and was a core of organizational structure, culture, and leadership in terms of Choson's educational administration.

officers. Most candidates came from military families or low ranking officials. The subjects of the tests were martial arts, the Confucian classics, and military skills and knowledge.

Lastly, the Miscellaneous Examinations (*Chapkwa*) were given for the selection of technical or vocational affairs, such as foreign languages, medicine, astronomy (including geomancy and meteorology), and law. The examinations were held to select translators, medical doctors, technical specialists who observe stars and make calendars, and judicial officers. The candidates took each subject of their special areas. Most candidates were from the *Chungin* (the professional group).

The civil service examinations were held on two levels: *Sokwa* (Lower level) and *Daekwa* (Higher level). The *Sokwa* was classified into *Saengwonkwa* (the Confucian classics examination) and *Jinsakwa* (the Chinese literary examination). Those who passed the *Saengwonkwa* or *Jinsakwa* were qualified to enter the Seongkyunkwan as *Seonbi* (the Confucian learned men) and to apply for the *Munkwa* that was the gateway to high officialdom. The men who passed the *Munkwa* examinations were appointed to government office.

Throughout approximately the 500th year of Choson Kingdom's reign, the *Kwa-keo* system had many twists and turns. Nevertheless, the *Kwa-keo* system was a spine of Choson's education and a gateway for young Confucians who wanted to be governmental officials and wanted to be proud of their pedigrees. Accordingly, it is no exaggeration to say that the ultimate goal of education in the Choson period was to pass the *Kwa-keo* and to obtain an official post. Thus, the Seongkyunkwan as the highest Confucian elite academy was regarded as an institution for preparing future civilian bureaucrats.

In fact, under the Confucian Yangban's society, Neo-Confucianism was the Golden Rule. In other words, Confucian theory and practice managed Choson's politics, economics, society, culture, and education. Neo-Confucianism framed the authoritarian organizational structure of the Confucian state and constituted the *Yangban*'s bureaucratic culture, particularly the *Yangban* males' dominant culture; Neo-Confucian rulers and

VI. Christianity and Western Thoughts in the Late Choson Period

As Buddhism and Confucianism were the most significant religious and philosophical factors affecting Korean informal and formal elite education in the traditional period, so Christianity and Western thoughts were the new adopted religious and philosophical factors that exerted an important influence upon the development of Korean modern education in the late Choson period.

In this section, to explore some educational elements of Christianity and Western thoughts, the author first begins to illustrate the context of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism in the late Choson period. Next, the writer will examine Christian higher education, as a tool to disseminate Christianity, including women's education. Finally, the impact of Christianity, largely Protestantism, and Western thoughts on Korean higher education will be analyzed in terms of educational administration theory and practice as mentioned in Part Two of this book.

1. Roman Catholicism and Protestantism

Korea's first contact with Christianity came during the late sixteenth century (C. A. Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; Janelli et al., 1989; A. E. Kim, 1995). The first contact of Roman Catholicism with Korea was traced back to the time (1592) of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Korea invasion. One of the Japanese generals of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's armies was Konishi Yukinaga who was Roman Catholic. According to Konishi's request, a Jesuit priest named Father Gregorio de Cespedes arrived in early 1594 in the company of a Japanese brother, within two months.

Although they performed their duties amongst the Japanese soldiers, there is no evidence to indicate that their stay had any influence on Korean religion (C. A. Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; A. E. Kim, 1995).

Although Catholic mission activities appeared as early as the 17th century, the religion drew its first convert, Seung-hun Lee, who established a house of worship as the first Korean Catholic church with his friends in 1784 (S. Choi, 1996; Kang, 1995; KOIS, 1993; Suh, 1996). Roman Catholic mission activity began to reach Korea during the early stage of the transmission of Western culture in the early 17th century, when copies of European Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci's works, such as Catholic doctrines, mathematics, geometry, surveying, astronomy, a world atlas, and a calendar system, were brought back by the *Silhak* (Practical or Concrete Learning) Confucian scholars during the Chinese Ching dynasty (1644-1912) (KOIS, 1993; Kibaek Lee, 1984).

With introduction of Catholic doctrine, Western scientific or technical knowledge was welcomed by Confucian literati. The *Silhak* scholars wanted to reform the monopolized sociopolitical order caused by a few powerful *Yangban* families by accepting the new religion and scientific knowledge. In addition, the *Silhak* thinkers sought to devise practical ways for improving the dismal national economic situations and to find an ideal model for their society in the national history and culture as well as in the ancient Chinese classics (Kibaek Lee. 1984, p. 236).

However, the *Silhak* scholars did not accomplish their desire to sociopolitically renovate the obsolete Confucian country because they, a handful of powerless scholars, did not break the rule of oligarchic *Yangban* families that held fast to the intellectual narrow-mindedness of Neo-Confucian orthodoxy. Moreover, Catholicism challenged and threatened the existing Confucian sociopolitical order, particularly not only the Three Bonds (*Samkang*) and Five Relationships (*O-Ryun*) as the basic paradigm for an individual, a family, society, and state, but also some social and ethical principles.

According to Confucian Analects, Confucius said, "While

you do not know life, how can you know about death?" (tr. by James Legge 1971, p. 241) These words do not coincide with the Catholic doctrine of the immortality of the soul. On the other hand, according to the Bible: "And you must not call anyone here on earth 'Father' because you have only the one Father in heaven" (Good News Bible, 1976, the New Testament, p. 34), that is, God is the truth and original father (Mattew 23: 9). In Neo-Confucianism, filial piety is a reguirement of the human father, living parents and deceased predecessors, whereas Catholicism emphasizes the importance of the Divine Father.

In addition, any challenge to ancestral rites, which were based on the basic Confucian concept of filial piety, brought serious social and political incrimination. The Catholic church regarded ancestor worship (*chesa*) to be an act of idolatry prohibited by God in the First Commandment of the Old Testament. According to the above Papal ruling in 1742, the Korean Catholics denied the participation of *chesa*, and the refusal of ancestral rites resulted in imprisonment or death by the Choson royal government (A. E. Kim, 1995, p. 36; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 240).

Therefore, Catholics were officially persecuted several times by the Confucian Choson rulers and bureaucrats from 1785 until 1886. Two such representative persecutions were the Shinyu (1801) and the Eulhae (1815) which were particularly harsh in nature. There was a political motive for the two persecutions. The former was to take the lives of at least three hundred Catholic martyrs leading to more than a thousand arrests (Grayson, 1985; A.E. Kim, 1995, p. 36; K. Lee, 1984, p. 240; Min, 1982, pp. 68-71). The latter was mostly confined to the southern Kyungsang province and hundreds of Catholics were massacred (Grayson, 1985, pp. 77-78; A. E. Kim, 1995, p. 36). In addition, under Taewongun's reign, Korean Catholicism met severe persecution again from 1866 to 1871. Fortunately, a treaty of France in 1886 was a turning point in the history of Korean Catholicism because it brought religious freedom for Korean Catholics and foreign missionaries, although religious activities were limited.

In the history of Korean Christianity, Korean Catholicism had some peculiar characteristics: (1) the first approach to Catholicism was intellectual pursuit rather than religious belief; (2) the primary Korean Catholic church was set up by Korean laymen; (3) Catholicism first attracted upper class intellectuals, mainly *Namin* (Southerners) and later was propagated to all levels of Korean society; and (4) Korean Catholicism suffered harsh oppression by the Choson government over 100 years. The Choson dynasty designated Catholicism as heresy and persecuted it in 1785 (S. Choi, 1996, p. 238; Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 240). Despite severe hardship and persecution by the Choson royal government, Korean Catholicism continued to flourish during the 19th century, largely through the efforts of Korean Catholics and French and Chinese missionaries.

In King Cheolchong's reign (1849-1863), with the introduction of a number of Western priests, the number of Catholics reached about 20,000, and many Catholic books were published with Korean letters (Kibaek Lee, 1984, p. 257). In spite of such a trend, compared with Protestantism, during the late 19th century the growth of Catholicism in Korea was not remarkable owing to the doctrine-centered evangelism, the external socio-opolitical motive of the Choson government, and the success of Protestant missionaries. Korean missionaries contradicted the Choson governmental policies and social values, and emphasized God-centered doctrine or catechism.

2. Protestantism

Perhaps the first foreign Protestant who stepped onto the Korean peninsula in June 1883 was a Japanese Christian, Nagasaka who acted as an agent for the National Bible Society of Scotland in Tokyo (Grayson, 1985, p. 104; A. E. Kim, 1995, p. 39). He went to the southern port city, Busan, to distribute Gospels and tracts in Korean as well as to sell complete Holy Scriptures in both Chinese and Japanese (Grayson, 1985, p. 104; A. E. Kim, 1995, p. 39).

In the history of Protestantism in Korea, the first Protestant

efforts were made by a few foreign missionaries from the first third of the 19th century (Grayson, 1985, p. 101). The first Protestant missionary was Karl F. A. Gutzlaff (1803-1851), who originally served with the Netherlands Missionary Society until 1828, although he was a Prussian and visited the west coast of Korea in 1832, with many copies of the Scriptures in Chinese (C. A. Clark, 1981, p. 242; Grayson, 1989, p. 194; Underwood, 1926, pp. 8-9). The next missionary who had contact with Korea was Robert J. Thomas (1839-1866), a graduate of New College at the University of London, who arrived on the Korean coast with several Korean Catholics on September 13, 1865 to distribute copies of the Bible, and he stayed two and a half months (Grayson, 1985, pp. 101-102).

Other important Protestant missionaries were John Ross (1841-1915), a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and his colleague John MacIntyre (1837-1905). Ross concentrated most of his missionary efforts in Manchuria and was largely responsible for sparking interest in missions in the Korean peninsula (Grayson, 1985, p. 102). He made two trips to Korea in 1874 and 1876. In 1877, Ross published the first grammar of the Korean language in English and the first history of Korea in any Western language in 1879 (Ibid). He and MacIntyre completed the translation of the New Testament into Korean and published it with the aid of funds from the National Bible Society of Scotland (Grayson, 1985, pp. 102-103). With these Protestant efforts, the Protestant church in Korea was already established before there were any foreign missionaries actually present in the country (Grayson, 1985, p. 103). Grayson (1985) describes Korean evangelization in 1884 as the following:

> [In] the winter of 1884, Ross accompanied by a young missionary... and was surprised at what he found. He baptized seventy-five persons on this trip. On the eve of the commencement of Protestant missions in Korea, we find that, 1) Koreans had already been converted to Protestant Christianity, 2) they were engaged in its propagation in several area, 3) that the Bible was beginning to be circulated in quan-

> tity, and 4) Christianity was established amongst the Korean [D]iaspora in Manchuria. (p. 103)

Nevertheless, the major stimulus for Protestant missionary work in Korea started from American agencies. The first foreign evangelistic agency to initiate missionary work in Korea was the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in 1884 (Allen, 1908; Grayson, 1985; Underwood, 1926). The Board of Foreign Missions of the Northern Presbyterian Church and the Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States of America simultaneously planned to begin mission work for Koreans in 1884 (Grayson, 1985). As the reader will recall, the first American Presbyterian mission work was opened by Dr. and Mrs. H. N. Allen, and the first clerical missionary from the Northern Presbyterian Board of Missions was Rev. Horace G. Underwood, who arrived in Seoul on April 5, 1885 (Grayson, 1985, p. 105).

Shortly after, Dr. and Mrs. Scranton, his mother Mrs. Mary Scranton, and the Rev. and Mrs. Henry Appenzeller of the Foreign Missionary Society of the Northern Methodist Episcopal Church arrived. After both the Presbyterian and the Methodist Churches were introduced, several foreign missionary bodies continuously landed on the Korean peninsula. Canadian Baptists arrived in 1889; Australian Presbyterian in 1889; Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Church of England) in 1890; Southern Presbyterian in 1892; Canadian Presbyterian, in 1893; Southern Methodist in 1896 (Rev. C. F. Reed, arriving in 1894); Seventh Day Adventists in 1905; Oriental Missionary Society (the Holiness Church of Korea) in 1907; Salvation Army in 1908; and Jehovah's Witness in 1912 (Dayton, 1985, p. 80; Grayson, 1985, pp. 103-115; A. E. Kim, 1995, p. 39; Mckenzie, 1920, p. 205).

In the late 19th century, when the Western missionaries arrived in Korea, the Choson Kingdom faced difficult internal and external problems. Internally, political and social reform movements for modernization were promoted by the progressive reform forces, but unfortunately failed by internal conservative

forces and external foreign power. Moreover, *Donghak* (Eastern Learning Movement) under the peasant army rose up in resistance to sociopolitical aggressions by feudalistic domestic government and foreign imperialistic power, but the Movement was frustrated by harsh suppression of the Choson government and of the Japanese army (Kibaek Lee, 1984; Radio Korea International, 1995). The *Donghak* signified its stand against *Seohak* (Western Learning or Christanity). The *Donghak* combined the three different thoughts of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. "The basic ideas of *[D]onghak* were that human minds are heavenly minds; that is, heaven exists in the minds of humans. Donghak propagated the ideas of human salvation and equality among promised blessings on earth, and proposed the ideas of national peace, salvation of humanity, and eternal youth" (Radio Korea International [RKI], 1995, p. 141).

Externally, foreign power threatened the Choson royal government for getting their sociopolitical interests. Consequently, the powerless Choson dynasty was compelled to sign the first modern treaty of amity with Japan in 1876. The Choson government also contracted unfair treaties of amity and commerce with the United States in 1882, British in 1883, Germany in 1883, Italy, 1884, Russia in 1884, France in 1886, and other nations (Son, 1985, p. 35). As a result, the Korean people were exploited politically and economically by these nations. Additionally, the Korean peninsula became an arena for power struggles among foreign countries, particularly Japan, China, and Russia (Kibaek Lee, 1984; RKI, 1995).

Furthermore, the majority of Confucian bureaucrats still showed hostility toward foreigners and their religion, especially Catholicism. Accordingly, the Protestant missionaries recognized that direct evangelical work for the Korean people was difficult or impossible. Therefore, they turned to medical and educational work instead of religious mission. Fortunately, the Choson royal house responded favorably toward the Protestant mission work and granted medical and educational activities to the Protestant missionaries. In medical activities, Dr. Allen healed Prince Yongik Min who was on the verge of death. Allen's meticulous

care of the young prince gave the Choson royal house great confidence in Western medicine. Thus, when Dr. Allen petitioned the royal court for the establishment of a hospital using Western medicine, it was happily granted. This hospital (*Kwanghye-won*) was opened on April 10, 1885 (Grayson, 1985, p. 105). In the late 1880s, the Methodist Episcopal Mission set up a hospital for the poorest strata of society (Grayson, 1985, p. 106).

In educational activities, Rev. Appenzeller opened *Baejae-hakdang*, the first missionary higher common school or collegiate normal school for men in Korea, June 8, 1886, and on May 31, 1886, Mrs. M. F. Scranton opened *Ewha-hakdang*, as the first girls' or women's school in Korea (Bishop, 1897, pp. 388-389; Grayson, 1985, p. 106; Underwood, 1926, p. 18). The Choson royal house gave the above two schools names: the King Kojong granted the name of Baejae-hakdang (the institute for rearing talented men); the Queen gave the name of Ewha-hakdang (the pear-blossom institute).

Indeed, King Kojong welcomed Western Protestant missionaries as political advisors and pioneers of modernization. Tyler Hendricks (1985) points out that, "Korea, at that time, entering into the dangerous waters of international politics, and caught in the designs of Japan, China, and Russia, was anxious to establish good relations with the United States, which the king considered a disinterested party" (p. 68). The Protestant missionaries penetrated into the Korean people's minds; that is, Koreans regarded Christianity as the means to modernization, thus solving their country's political and economic problems. Especially, almost all of Koreans were disgraced and broken-down by Japanese political aggression and economic exploitation. In the late 19th century, economic situations were miserable. Hungry and angry masses rose in revolt against the royal magistrates and officials who extorted heavy taxes and severe hardships. The History of Korea (Radio Korea International, 1995) writes:

The peasants' army had demanded: the punishment of corrupt

> officials, tyrannical men of wealth and Yangbans; abolition of the social status structure; waiver of public and private debts; equal redistribution of farmland; and expulsion of Japanese forces... While the peasant movement was beginning to take the first steps toward a resolution of the problems with the peace agreement between Chon Pong-chun [the commander of the peasant army] and the government, China and Japan dispatched troops into Choson and the Sino-Japanese War erupted. (pp. 150-151)

Protestantism attempted to avoid antagonism with Confucian sociopolitical ideologies and values, seeking instead to harmonize with Neo-Confucianism and Korean religious culture. Kwoeng-il Suh (1996) asserts that "[t]he Protestant church attempted to harmonize with Confucian philosophies and ethics, asserting that Protestant ethical teachings were no different from Confucian precepts aimed at advancing humanity through the promotion of charity and virtues" (p. 248). Hyo-jae Lee (1971) indicates that Christianity has adopted many of its superstitious and secular elements (p. 77). In addition, Chin-hong Chung (1996) asserts:

> The most important factors in Christianity's relative success have been the similarities between Christian theology and the Christian concept of God and the structures of Korea's traditional religions. Koreans' belief in a supreme being together with the presence of shamans acting as spiritual mediators, helped overcome cultural differences inherent in Christian teachings Christianity introduced a god that native religions had failed to define sufficiently. Christianity provided the theos [god] missing from traditional religious thought. (pp. 225-226)

Furthermore, Christian egalitarianism and humanism embraced the lower class people or commoners. The equality of sexes and the dignity of labor based on Christian humanity especially appealed to masses whose human rights and freedoms were violated by the Yangbans and the royal families. In addition, Western ideas and knowledge were attractive not only to the

masses but also to a part of the upper class people and some royal family members who had progressive ideas for Korean modernization and radical thoughts regarding foreign countries' political and economic aggressions.

In summary, some important factors contributive to Protestant success in the late Choson period can be indicated as follows: (1) the Choson royal court looked favorably upon the Western Protestant missionaries, especially Americans; (2) the state took an open-door policy to foreign countries instead of a policy of seclusion by foreigners' repressive measures; (3) the Protestants sought to harmonize with Neo-Confucianism and Korean's religious culture; (4) - Christian ethics, such as egalitarianism and humanism, appealed to the Korean populace familiar with Confucianism, particularly Christian humanism based on human-centered doctrines—love/benevolence (in Chinese *ren* or *jen*), worship God/worship ancestors, and God's will/Heaven's Way—; (5) Western scientific knowledge and institutional work were viewed as the means of Korean modernization and self-reliance by the Korean people who had reformative and patriotic ideas; and (6) with devotional efforts of Korean Christians, the final factor was the missionaries' faithful attitudes and the Nevius methods which stressed self-support, self-propagation, self-government, and independence of the church (C. A. Clark, 1981; Grayson, 1985; Hendricks, 1985; A. E. Kim, 1995; Rutt, 1900).

In addition, the Protestant missionaries used medical and educational work as a tool for promoting evangelism. They recognized that the Korean populace suffered from poverty and that they had a strong zeal for education. During the Choson period, education had been monopolized by the Yangban in practice. Unlike the Catholics' method, which relied mostly on the leadership of Pope, the Protestant missionaries adopted the Nevius method to practice the evangelical work for the Korean people.

3. Missionary Higher Education

Along with medical work, missionary education was one of the most important factors which contributed to the success of Christianity. Education by Christian missionaries opened the doors for the spreading of Christianity and Western thought. In the history of Christianity in Korea, Roman Catholic missionaries were educational pioneers who taught Korean letters, namely *Hangeul*, to the native women and men of humble birth for the understanding of Catholic doctrines before Protestant missionaries landed on the Korean peninsula in the late 19th century (The Korean National Commission for UNESCO (KNCU), 1960, p. 13). Education for the priesthood for Koreans was reactivated in 1877 (Grayson, 1985, p, 87). In the first half of the 19th century, French missionaries sent several young Korean Catholics abroad for education. As a result, in 1845 Dae-keon Kim, the first Korean priest, was ordained to the priesthood (S. Choi, 1996, p. 240). In 1881 many Korean Catholic students were sent to Nagasaki, Japan and later to the seminary in Penang (Grayson, 1985, p. 87).

In 1885 a Catholic seminary was opened in Korea and moved to the capital in 1887. Suck-woo Choi (1996) wrote that a seminary was set up to educate priests in Korea in 1855 (p. 240). H. H. Underwood (1926) noted that a seminary was founded in 1891 as the oldest school for higher religious training in Korea (p. 147). H. H. Underwood (1926) describes the seminary as follows:

> The full course for the seminary is divided into three parts, preparatory, Latin school and seminary. Apparently the preparatory course of four to six years aims to fill out the deficiencies in general education of the lower school; this is followed by a six-year Latin course in which, while further secondary education is given, the greatest emphasis is laid on Latin as a tool-subject for the later theological work. The Latin course is capped by another six years in the seminary proper, of which two years are devoted to philosophy as a ground work and four years to theology. It is obvious that the

> candidate who finishes this arduous course.... in fact a far better servant of the church, than is the Korean Protestant pastor. (p. 147)

The Catholic seminary was the only Christian higher educational institute which fostered Korean Catholic priests in the 1880s. Ewha-hakdang, as the foundation for both Ewha Girls' High School and Ewha Woman's University, was established on May 31, 1886 (Grayson, 1985, p. 106; S. Lim, 1985, p. 17; Yu, 1992). Despite the fact that Catholicism was set up in Korea nearly 100 years before Protestantism, Catholic missionaries did not efficiently use education as an evangelical tool.

Unlike Catholic missionaries, Protestant missionaries regarded education as a way to plant the seed of Christianity in Korea. Arriving in Korea, they opened institutional missions, or medical and educational work. As the author briefly mentioned in Chapter Two of this book, the Protestant missionaries opened collegiate schools as well as preparatory or secondary schools. In 1885, Dr. Allen established the first Western modern hospital, namely *Kwanghye-won* as a Mecca of medical education in Korea. The *Kwanghye-won* was further developed and became a cornerstone for the Severance Union Medical College, which was founded by Dr. O. R. Avison in 1905. The founder modeled this school on American medical colleges and taught Western medicine to Korean students. The first class of doctors graduated in 1908 (Son, 1985, p. 70; Underwood, 1926, p. 121). Just as the first doctors recognized a need to train assistants and potential doctors, so they found it essential to train nurses (Underwood, 1926, p. 121). Accordingly, in 1906 Hospital Severance Union Nurses' Training School was established. In 1906, when the first class of doctors graduated, there were seven young women enrolled (Underwood, 1926, pp. 125-126).

In the late 1890s, although some reformative Korean intellectuals insisted on the equality of the sexes and the need for public education for women, the Choson Confucian society still adhered to the traditional Confucian concepts, such as sex discrimination based on a thought of predominance of man over

woman. Thus, recruitment of women students was not easy. As H. H. Underwood (1926) indicates, at one period the hospital hired dancing girls from the palace when it was under the Choson royal government control (p. 125).

With the opening of a medical college, many other Protestant missionaries established other Christian colleges and seminaries. Protestant missionaries began collegiate education at the following institutes: Presbyterian Theological Seminary in 1902; Severance Medical School (U.S. Northern Methodist) in 1905; Hospital Severance Union Nurses' Training School in 1906; Union Christian College (U.S. N. Presbyterian, U.S. N. Methodist, and Australian Presbyterian cooperated) in 1906; Choson Christian College or Yon Hee College (U. S. N. Presbyterian) in 1906; Ewha College for Women (U.S. N. Methodist) in 1910; Union Methodist Seminary in 1910 (Sungho Lee, 1989; Son 1985; Underwood, 1926).

In 1886, Mrs. M. F. Scranton opened the first girls' or women's school in Korea, which developed the Ewha Woman's College in 1910. Ewha Woman's College opened with fifteen students (Sungho Lee, 1989, p. 89; S. Lim, 1985, p. 19; Underwood, 1926, p. 113). Although the school began with one woman student of humble birth, it was useful not only for emancipating Korean women whose human rights and dignities were trampled by male dominant Confucian norms and values, but also for giving females a valuable chance to recognize gender equality and human freedom through modern education.

In the Choson Kingdom period, the task of women was limited to the delivery of children, especially sons, in order to preserve the family blood lineage and to housekeeping (Kyu-tae Lee, 1996, p. 68; S. Lim, 1985, p. 16). Accordingly, during the Choson period, Korean women did not receive opportunities to enjoy their personal rights and to receive public education. Other Protestant missionaries also planted Christian humanism and scientific knowledge through Christian institutes. In particular, missionary educators of Ewha Woman's College believed that higher education should be offered to women so that they would be capable of competing equally with men (Son, 1985, p. 143).

From the beginning, Ewha Woman's College was conducted somewhat on the American higher educational system (Underwood, 1926, p. 113), like other mission collegiate schools which were modeled after the nineteenth-century American colleges (Son, 1985, p. 182). As Gerald L. Gutek (1972) indicates, in the nineteenth century American religious denominations established private institutions of higher education in the wave of religious revivalism. These colleges offered liberal arts, practical subjects, and religious education (p. 373). He also adds:

> The history of higher education in the United States is a record of American pragmatism, both in meeting the requirements of changing society and in modifying European concepts to fit American needs.... In the period between the Civil War and World War I, American higher education was influenced by the nineteenth-century German university, which emphasized *Lehrfreiheit und Lernfreiheit*, freedom to teach and freedom to learn. (Gutek, 1972, p. 375)

Christian missionary educators, including Ewha's educators, emphasized both religious and liberal attitudes that encouraged an educated citizenry dedicated to Christianity and Korea. Thus, they taught not only the Bible and English but also humanistic (both traditional and modern) science, natural science, and other practical subjects (Son, 1985, p. 168). Isabella B. Bishop, a famous British writer and traveler, describes the Baejae-hakdang and its curricula as the following:

> Undoubtedly the establishment which has exercised and is exercising the most powerful educational, moral, and intellectual influence in Korea is the PaiChai College [Baejae College]... It has a Chinese-En-mun [Korean letters] department, for the teaching of the Chinese classics, Sheffield's Universal History, etc., a small theological department, and an English department, in which reading, grammar, composition, spelling, history, geography, arithmetic, and the elements of chemistry and natural philosophy are taught. (pp. 388-389)

Above all, however, Christian higher educational institutes emphasized the evangelical ministry. In the early stages, most students of missionary collegiate schools came from the lower people, including women, but in the late 1890s some *Yangban* class people who had progressive and reformative thoughts entered the Christian collegiate schools. Within two decades, after Protestant missionaries began their institutional work, they contributed much to the emancipation of women as well as to the recognition of human rights and freedoms through sowing the seeds of Christianity and Western thought to the Korean people.

In summary, Christian missionary work in Korea had a great effect on the development of Korean education, including higher educational administration, in the following ways: (1) planting of Christianity, (2) recognition of the importance of Western practical and scientific knowledge, (3) opening of democratic and female education, (4) introducing Western institutional administrative systems as well as curriculum and instruction, (5) teaching the spirit of independence and self-reliance, (6) beginning of native language education, and (7) presenting Western thoughts, such as Christian humanism, Puritanism, egalitarianism, democratism, utilitarianism, and pragmatism.

After considering this section, in the context of educational administration theory and practice, the top and central agency of Christian collegiate schools was each denominational headquarters. Although it was the authority responsible for discharging the foreign evangelical mission, Christian collegiate schools did not come under the direct supervision of the central agency in general because they were allowed autonomous administration to propagate Christianity by their denominational central agencies.

Christian higher educational institutes in Korea maintained entrepreneurial organizational structures which consisted of a top administrator and a few workers in the operative core. Of course, the missionary educators administrated their schools with some bureaucratic characteristics as having several major qualities: strict rules and regulations based on Christian morality, and rational programs or personnel administration grounded in the

system of American missionary higher education. They usually utilized not only expert power which depended on special ability, knowledge, and experience but also referent power that relies on the administrator's respected ability and personality. In addition, they did not generally use so much charismatic leadership as transformational leadership because they encouraged followers to achieve higher levels of morality and motivation. Accordingly, their leadership appealed to positive moral values and higher-order needs of subordinates.

With regards to organizational culture, since the traditional Confucian ethics and values which stressed ethical obligations were the main factors of social organizational culture, Christian educational administrators did not eliminate Confucian norms and traditions at their institutes. They attempted to harmonize between Protestantism and Neo-Confucianism. Thus, the author concludes that the characteristics of organizational culture in Christian higher education were formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian moral norms as well as open democratism and Western individualism based on Christian paradigms. In truth, these two paradigms have become the most significant factors that dominate organizational culture in Korean societal institutions, including higher education. Like the above two norms, Japanese imperialism or colonialism also had an important influence upon Korean higher education, especially educational administration practice. With Shintoism, Japanese imperialism will be reviewed in the next chapter.

VII. Japanese Imperialism under Its Colonial Rule

With Christianity and Western thought, Japanese imperialism or militarism had a significant impact on the development of Korean higher education. In particular, Japanese educational policy and administrative practice, based on Shinto-Confucian nationalism, have exerted both good and bad influences upon Korean education. To examine the impact of Japanese nationalistic thought on Korean tertiary education, Shintoism, as a national faith or a cult of Japan, will be considered. Next, the author attempts to investigate Japanese educational policy and administration in terms of Japanese imperial higher education, including a colonial imperial university in Korea. Finally, both beneficial and negative influences will be reviewed.

1. Shintoism

As briefly indicated in Chapter Two, ancient Japan had close relations with old Korea politically, economically, and culturally. Both *Nihongi* (Chronicles of Japan from the Earliest Times to AD 697) and *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters) present an abundance of records of relationships between Korea and Japan. Early relations with Japan were mainly through Korea, particularly Paekche, which was a cultural mediator between China and Japan (Hong, 1988; Longford, 1911; Maki, 1945). Korea's two greatest early contributions to Japan were the transmission of not only Chinese writing and literature but also Buddhism. Like *Nihongi*'s records (Vol. I, pp. 262-263), *Kojiki* also left Wangin (Wani)'s contribution in AD 285 (Aston notes that the year corresponds to AD 405). *Kojiki* describes that the King of

Paekche presented a man named Wani-kishi, and likewise by this man he presented the Confucian Analects in ten volumes and the Thousand Character Essay in one volume (tr. Chamberlain, p. 306). In AD 552, the *Nihongi* records that the King of Paekche in Korea sent an embassy to Japan with a present to the Mikado of an image of Shaka Buddha in gold and copper, banners, umbrellas, and a number of volumes of the Buddhist Sutras (tr. W. A. Aston, pp. 59-60). The introduction of Buddhism had an immense effect on the development of Japanese culture and religion. A form of the northern branch of Buddhism (Mahayana) was transmitted to Japan via Tibet, China, and Korea (Aston, 1905, p. 359; Reader et al., 1993, p. 93).

In the historical development of the Japanese religion and national thought, Shinto, a naturalistic national religion of the Japanese people or a cult of the state, cannot be separated from Buddhism, Confucianism, and other continental influences (Picken, 1994, p. 3). The origins of Shinto are very controversial. Wontack Hong (1988), a Korean historian, says, "The dominant religion in Korea prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Confucianism was Shamanism. This Shamanism seems to have been brought to Japan by those who migrated from Korea" (pp. 138-139). Ryusaku Tsunoda and William T. de Bary (1964) also claim that "Shinto was not an indigenous religion... Shamanistic and animistic practices similar to these of Shinto have also been found through northeast Asia, especially in Korea" (p. 21).

In addition, Edwin O. Reischauer and Albert M. Craig (1973) assert that "[m]embers of the priestly class who performed the various rites... probably represented the Japanese variant of the shamans of Korea and Northeast Asia" (p. 473). Last, W. G. Aston (1905), a translator of Nihongi, insists that in prehistoric Shinto, there are definite traces of a Korean element in Shinto *A Kara no Kami* (God of Korea) was worshipped in the Imperial Palace (p. 1). Stuart D. B. Picken (1994) mentions that "Shinto has been described as the source of Japan's creative spirit on the one hand, and as an incorrigible source of militaristic nationalism on the other" (p. 4).

In its earliest stages, Shintoism was a primitive natural religion with elements of animism, natural worship, shamanism, ancestral reverence, agricultural rites, and purification, merging later with Buddhism and Confucianism. *Ryobu* (Dual) Shinto had religious and ethical components of a high order and finally achieved the separation of Shinto from Buddhism, that is, *Kokka* (State) Shinto or *Jinja* (Shrine) Shinto as the state cult or religion (Aston, 1905; Bocking, 1996; Herbert, 1967; Holtom, 1938; Picken, 1994). Picken (1994) explains that animism is a belief that sees life and divinity in all the phenomena of nature from lightning to the winds and rain; nature worship is closely linked to animism and it is the general Japanese reverence for nature; and ancestral reverence is found in Japan as in most Asian nations (pp. 8-10). The author claims that Japanese ancestral worship is a form mixing Shinto with Confucianism. *Ryobu* Shinto means "Two-sided" or "Dual Shinto." A Popular Dictionary of Shinto (Bocking, 1996) notes, "An interpretation of Kami (Gods) beliefs and practices developed in the Kamakura period (1185-1333) and maintained by the Shingon school of esoteric Buddhism. A derivative theory that reversed the status of kami and Buddhas was proposed by Kanetomo Yoshida (1435-1511)" (p. 145).

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the affairs of both Shinto and Buddhism were placed under the same set of official regulations on April 21, 1872 (Holtom, 1938, p. 59). However, in February, 1873, the Japanese government proclaimed officially that it would protect the freedom of Shinto and Buddhism and that it encouraged each of them to grow (Herbert, 1967, p. 51). Brian Bocking (1996) notes:

> 'State Shinto,' 'National Shinto,' or 'Shrine Shinto' was a concept defined retrospectively and applied by the occupation authorities in the Shinto Directive of 1945 to the post-Meiji religious system in Japan. In the Directive, State Shinto is defined as that branch of Shinto (*Kokka* Shinto or *Jinja* Shinto) which by official acts of the Japanese Government has been differentiated from the religion of sect Shinto (*Shuha*

> Shinto) and has been classified a non-religious cult commonly known as State Shinto, National Shinto, or Shrine Shinto. (pp. 100-101)

In the first month of his third year (1870) Japanese Emperor Meiji issued a prescript defining the relation of Shinto to the state and the intention of the government concerning it (Holtom, 1938, p. 55). The prescript declares:

> We solemnly announce: The Heavenly Deities and the Great Ancestress... established the throne and made the succession sure. The line of Emperors... entered into possession thereof and transmitted the same. Religious ceremonies and government were of a single mind.... Government and education must be made plain that the Great Way of faith in the kami [gods] may be propagated.... (Holtom, 1938, p. 55)

After the declaration of the prescript, the Japanese government formulated the Three Principles of Instruction for the establishment of royal rule through a Shinto-centered indoctrination and decreed Education Code for the foundation of modern educational systems. On April 28, 1872, the Introduction was proclaimed: (1) compliance with the spirit of reverence for Kami (Gods) and love of country; (2) clarification of 'the principle of Heaven and the Way of man'; and (3) exalting the Emperor and obeying the Imperial Court (Tsunetsugu, 1964, p. 206). The 1872 Education Code of Japan copied the uniform and centralized system of France initiated by Napoleon III in 1854 (Anderson, 1975, p. 21).

Furthermore, the Japanese government attempted to set up national morals within the schools on the basis of the Shinto-Confucian Imperial Prescript on Education that was promulgated on October 30, 1890 (Anderson, 1959, p. 13; Beauchang & Vardaman, 1994, pp. 4-5; Holtom, 1938, p. 71; Horio, 1988). The Japanese Emperor Meiji's Prescript on Education notes:

> Know ye, Our Subjects:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our Subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof... Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.... (Sansom, 1950, p. 464)

The prescript stressed the Shinto ideology of royal worship mixed with Confucian ethical concepts and practices such as loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, ancestor worship, learning, harmonious human relationships, etc. Indeed, the prescript embraced imperialism, ultranationalism, and religion, especially Confucianism and Shintoism. In addition, it claimed to stand for absolute ethics and values of the state. Over the years, the Meiji prescript, as "a Holy Writ" (Bunce, 1962, p. 39) or a national moral prop of the Japanese people, was reinterpreted several times in maintaining the rising militaristic and ultranationalistic ideology, and its philosophy extended to the educational systems of Japan and her colonial countries until 1945.

Despite the fact that Japan owed Korea a great debt of religion and culture, Japanese imperialists rearmed with Shintoism, which was amalgamated with Buddhism, Confucianism, and other continental Asiatic religious ingredients, outraged the Korean people spiritually and physically for approximately a half century. On August 29, 1910 the Choson royal government brought disgrace upon its nation and people because of its inefficiency and aggressive Japanese political and economic power. After occupying the Korean peninsula, the Japanese imperialists set up the ruling policy that aimed to let Koreans have capacities and personalities as loyal citizens of her imperialism (The Government-General of Choson, 1935). To accomplish this pur-

pose, they regarded education as an essential tool for the fulfillment of their political scheme. Thus, the Japanese imperialists attempted to design new educational systems and administrative structures suitable for the performance of their colonial policy.

2. Japanese Imperial Higher Education

After Japanese annexation (1910), an Educational Bureau under the Internal Affairs Department in the Government-General of Choson became a top organ of educational administration. The Educational Bureau was composed of an educational section, an editorial section, a religious section, and a school inspectorate, whereas in the provinces an educational section forms part of the Department of Internal Affairs and also has a staff of school-inspectors (The Government-General of Choson, 1921, p. 75). The chief of the Educational Bureau was controlled and supervised by the Director of Internal Affairs, who was in charge of the whole educational system of Korea (Cynn, 1920, p. 100).

Educational administration under Japanese rule was highly centralized in the Internal Affairs Department and in the Educational Bureau, and was directed and supervised by these offices due to their coercive power in the organizational hierarchy. The Educational Bureau under the Internal Affairs Department assumed responsibility for most aspects of the whole school system, including missions and aims, scholastic terms, curricula, qualifications of teaching staff, management of personnel, fiscal review, allotment of funds, inspection of educational facilities, etc. Specifically speaking, administrative control of educational affairs from policy-making to repealing of the educational system, establishment of schools and authorization, compilation and censorship of textbooks, granting of teacher certificates and personnel administration of teaching staff, formation of the educational budget and approval thereof, and scholarship administration were also exercised by authority of the Government-General of Choson (KNCU, 196?, p. 118).

However, top policy of the Japanese Emperor was issued in Imperial Ordinances prepared by the governor of the

Government-General of Choson. Other policies were usually emitted in the form of directives and instructions by the department and bureaus under the Government-General (Anderson, 1959, p. 75). The administrators of these offices stressed authoritative hierarchical orders that were followed without any complaints and reasons to the subordinates of their organizational systems.

Under the Japanese rule, the principle of colonial education was based on the Meiji Prescript on education, whose purpose was to assimilate or to foster imperial or loyal citizens. In August 1911, the Japanese colonial government promulgated the Choson (Korean) Educational Ordinance. As the author mentioned in Part Two, the Educational Ordinance of 1911 allowed higher educational institutions, such as Christian missionary colleges and seminaries, to be lost their college status and be downgraded to non-degree granting schools. The ordinance was a direct expression of Japanese schemes: (1) to force the Korean people to be obedient to Japanese imperialists, (2) to root up the national spirit of the Koreans, (3) to make the people lag behind world civilization, and (4) ultimately to assimilate the people to become loyal Japanese citizens (KNCU, 1960, p. 15). In fact, with the Meiji Prescript, the ordinance was a fundamental frame for governing colonial education in Korea until August 15, 1945, although the Japanese colonial administration revised and enacted several educational ordinances in 1922, 1938, and 1943 (Cheong, 1985; Jin-Eun Kim, 1988; Nam, 1962; Yu, 1992).

After issuing a new Educational Ordinance on February 4, 1922, several Christian missionary schools and one Korean private collegiate school that had lost their college statuses again were upgraded as college institutions. The major difference between the old ordinance (1911) and the new (1922) was that the new ordinance abolished the dual discriminative systems and adapted the Japanese educational system to the Korean people equally. Underwood (1926) wrote the numbers of higher educational institutes reported by the Japanese colonial government in 1923 as the following:

> The three private colleges which are listed are the Chosen [Choson] Christian College, the Severance Union Medical College, and a native college located in Seoul and known as the Posung [Boseong] Law College. The Ewha College, the Pyengyang [Pyungyang] Union Christian College, and the Nurses' Training School are all included in the list of various schools. (pp. 182-183)

In 1924 the Japanese administration opened Keijo Imperial University, as the first modern university in Korea, which included the department of law and literature and the department of medicine. Although the Japanese colonial government claimed that the Keijo Imperial University in Seoul was almost the same as Imperial universities in Japan in terms of quality (The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 486), the university was not a scientific research institute, but a liberal arts university combined with a medical department. For example, Tokyo Imperial University was organized in 1877 with four departments: law, science, literature, and medicine (Anderson, 1959, p. 125). The university, which served as a model for succeeding imperial universities, was a scientific research university like German universities.

The imperial universities were: Tokyo (1886), Kyoto (1897), Kyushu in Fukuoka (1903), Hokkaido in Sapporo (1903), Tohoku in Sendai (1909), Osaka (1931), Nagoya (1931), and two in the colonies (Keijo in Korea and Taihoku in Taiwan) (Anderson, 1959, p. 126). The governing system and the organizational structure of Keijo Imperial University directly emulated Japanese Imperial Universities, which were patterned after several Western countries' academic models and institutions, particularly Germany (Altbach, 1989; Anderson, 1959; Cummings, 1990). Japanese universities borrowed many ideas and models of higher education from Western countries: French administrative organizations and educational systems (bureaucratic coordination), Pestalozzi's developmental educational system, Herbartian moral centered-pedagogy, German university models and its academia (academic freedom), Anglo-American ideas of utilitarian edu-

cation, American liberal arts college model, and American pragmatism (especially John Dewey's educational philosophy) (Altbach, 1989; Cummings, 1990, p. 73; Cummings, Amano, & Kitamura, 1979; Nakayama, 1989, pp. 31-48).

However, Chinese educational ideas based on Confucianism and Chinese classics had a great impact on Japanese education. Indeed, after adopting many Western ideas of higher education, Japanese adapted them to the Shinto-Confucian tradition. Shigeru Nakayama (1989), a Japanese historian, asserts that the first example of the window-shopping mode occurred in the late nineteen century, whereas the involvement mode is best illustrated in the post-World War II Occupation period, in which reforms based on the American system were carried out (pp. 31-32).

Since the Japanese Imperial higher education adopted the centralized system of France and formalized a system of rank structure after the German system (Anderson, 1975, p. 21; Cummings, 1990, p. 113), Keijo Imperial University as a colonial institute was also shaped by a highly centralized organizational structure. The entire academic structure was set up in accordance with the Japanese prototype. Accordingly, the curriculum of the Keijo Imperial University was almost the same as that of the metropolitan imperial universities, and the majority of the academic staff and students were Japanese (Altbach, 1989, pp. 15-16). Furthermore, colonial authorities in all cases used their mother tongue for higher education, including teaching and learning, textbooks, communication with colleagues overseas, etc. (Altbach, 1989, p. 16). In addition, the Japanese colonial administrators managed academic affairs and finance and controlled all faculty members from the president to the lower level staff (The Government-General of Choson, 1935, p. 486). The Japanese administrators appointed all faculty according to their working positions and functions, and controlled students' activities and academic freedom (Ibid).

In terms of educational administration, like the metropolitan imperial universities, Keijo University was hierarchical in organization and had an authoritative system of rank structure. The

university administrators and the colonial authorities exercised strict rules, written documents, and hierarchical authority through royal prescripts, ordinances, policies, and directives. A linear rank structure in which the head of the chair had absolute authority was a main part of the organizational system and was composed of the academic ranks of professor, assistant professor, instructor, assistant, and vice-assistant to teach and help in each field (Cummings, 1990, p. 113). In the selection of new members, one of the most important criteria was age. The age rank structure based on Confucian ethical and social values solidified authoritarian leadership of top and middle line senior administrators. Accordingly, the open-rank system which depended on cooperation and more objective evaluations was not practiced. In other words, the colonial educational administrators did not use participative leadership and supportive leadership in terms of House's path-goal theory.

In consideration of the previous discussion, the organizational structure of Keijo Imperial University maintained a highly centralized closed formal system based on Shinto-Confucian values and norms. In addition, the Meiji Prescript was a blueprint of the Shinto-Confucian educational plan and a seed of institutional culture in colonial higher education. Therefore, the impact of Japanese imperialism on organizational culture in colonial Korean tertiary education was to sustain the Shinto-Confucian rituals and paradigms: (1) emphasis on loyalty and filial piety, (2) stress on imperialism, (3) reverence for rulers, teachers, parents, and seniors, and (4) Shinto and Japanese royal family worship. Those norms were used as tools for the policy of assimilation to the Japanese people and dampening of the Korean national spirit.

In summary, during the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), the Japanese imperial authorities offered higher educational opportunities to some Koreans for training a pro-Japanese elite group who could support its imperialism or militarism. Despite such an undesirable colonial policy, the heritage of Japanese colonialism shaped the nature of the modern Korean universities and left both positive and negative impacts on

Korean higher education.

Positively, the Japanese colonial government established Western higher educational institutions, practiced public education for many Koreans regardless of social status and gender, introduced Western technical and professional training through common higher or collegiate level institutes, left educational facilities and buildings, transferred administrative systems and practices as well as rigid and authoritative academic culture which form an integral part of Korean higher education.

Negatively, Japanese colonial authorities regarded higher education as a tool to foster pro-Japanese elite agents who were able to practice Japanese colonial policy and Japanese imperialism; they abolished the Confucian National Academy or University which had preserved the Korean academic tradition; Korean tertiary institutes under the Japanese colonial period lost opportunities to plant Western models which were suited for Koreans' needs due to the Japanese imperialists' educational policy; and some Korean intellectuals who had studied at the colonial imperial university became pro-Japanese collaborators (H. Choi, 1990, p. 251).

Despite the fact that the heritage of Japanese colonial higher education left both positive and negative impacts, Korean higher education got a chance to adapt American academic systems for Koreans' political, social, historical, and cultural context directly during the reign of the United States Military Government (1945-1948).

VIII. American Influence: 1945-1948 (Americanism under the United States Military Government)

As discussed in the previous section, Japanese colonial authorities exploited Shinto-Confucian ideology as an agency of Japanese imperial policy to promote their ultranationalism and militarism over the colonial peoples, including Koreans. After the defeat of Japan on August 15, 1945, the military forces of the United States landed on the Korean peninsula armed with their own ideology: Americanism. In this book, Americanism is viewed as the political, economic, and military power which dominated the Korean people under the U.S. Military Administration from 1945 to 1948.

On September 7, 1945, the Commander in Chief of the Pacific United States Army Forces, General Douglas MacArthur, announced his General Order Number 1:

> By virtue of the authority vested in me as Commander in Chief, United States Army Forces, Pacific, I hereby establish military control over Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the inhabitants thereof, and announce the following conditions of the occupation:
>
> All powers of government over the territory of Korea south of 38 degrees north latitude and the people thereof will be for the present exercised under my authority. Persons will obey my orders and orders issued under my authority. Acts of resistance to the occupying forces or any acts which may disturb public peace and safety will be punished severely. For all purposes during the military control, English will be official language.... (Simons,

1995, p. 159)

As Geoff Simons (1995) indicates, Order Number 1 did not comment on the Cairo pledge to make Korea free and independent 'in due course' (p. 159). After three years of Korean occupation, the U.S. Government kept its promise of the 1943 Cairo Conference, transferring the reigns of power to the new South Korean government. On October 17, 1945, the American commander of the U.S. troops in Korea, Lieutenant-General John R. Hodge, also proclaimed: "The Military Government Office is the sole government of Korea. If there is any person who complains of the orders or deliberately slanders the Military Government, he shall suffer punishment" (Simons, 1995, p. 160).

In the late 1945 and the early 1946, like Japanese colonial imperialists, the American military authorities politically oppressed many Koreans who desired independence from foreign powers (Meade, 1951, pp. 58-62; Simons, 1995, pp. 159-162). The Korean intellectuals and nationalists were split between the right and the left wings by ideologies, namely democratism and communism. In fact, the American Military Government maintained the governing structure of the Japanese Government-General of Choson (Meade, 1951, p. 59; Oliver, 1993, pp. 169-170) and employed Koreans, many of whom were well-known pro-Japanese collaborators in the administration of its own affairs (Meade, 1951, p. 61; Simons, 1995, p. 160). For this reason, many Korean nationalists turned their backs on Americanism under the Military Government.

Historically, however, the Korean people or country was always at the end of the line in American foreign policy in the Far East (McCune, 1982; Oliver, 1993). As Shannon McCune (1982) indicates, historically, "American ignorance of Korea was reflected in the tentative and cautious actions taken by the United States Government" (p. 156). As a historical fact, the Korean-American Treaty of 1882 notes:

If other powers deal unjustly or oppressively with either

> government, the other will exert their good offices, and being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement, thus showing their friendly feeling. (Chay, 1982, p. 28)

On the other hand, Andrew C. Nahm (1982) cites, "[t]he Taft-Katsura Memorandum of conversation of July 27, 1905 has been widely interpreted as a secret pact between the United States and Japan whereby the United States approved Japanese seizure of Korea and establishment of their suzerainty over Korea in return for a Japanese disavowal of any aggressive intentions toward the Philippines" (p. 38).

In consideration of the above historical facts, the U.S. Government showed two-faced American policy to the Korean people. As John Chay (1982) and Andrew C. Nahm (1982) point out, the United States policy toward Korea during the late Choson period was pro-Japanese. Such an unfair foreign policy affected the MacArthur Military Administration during the late 1940s in the Far East. Under the MacArthur Administration, American policy, interest, and supplies went first of all, and most of all, to Japan, whereas Korea remained at the very last (Oliver, 1993, p. 175). General MacArthur did not punish Japanese Emperor, Hirohito as a top war criminal, but showed special courtesy toward him and his royal family except limiting his freedom and financial resources. The author believes that discriminating foreign policy of the United States and American ignorance of Korea were two main factors that toppled the Hodge Military Administration in Korea into a politically difficult situation. Robert T. Oliver (1993) cites:

> General John R. Hodge, unexpectedly propelled into commanding the military government of the south, nervously cabled the Pentagon: Under the existing situation and policies the U.S. occupation of Korea faces no success and is being pushed both politically and economically into a state of absurdly great difficulty. (p. 169)

In addition, as Robert T. Oliver (1993) points out, several reasons are to be added as follows: (1) the U.S. government did

no preparation for rebuilding of Korea; (2) the U.S. governmental decision regarding personnel to be used was inappropriate and unwise; (3) the Military government had no clear policy for dealing with communists, who were fundamentally disruptive factors in South Korea; (4) both the Koreans and the Americans were almost ignorant about each other's people and culture; (5) the Korean people generally disliked an imposed foreign government and resisted it by all available means; (6) the American Military Government in Korea did not effectively control Communist and populist cells that were widespread all through the country; (7) the Military Government preferred pro-Japanese collaborators who were successful economically or educationally to the mass of the Koreans; finally, (8) there was deep-seated resentment over the far greater speed and thoroughness of the rehabilitation of Japan under the MacArthur Military Government (pp. 170-175).

Synthesizing the political situations under the American Military Government in Korea, the author is in overall agreement with Oliver's (1993) opinion. Although the Military Government tried to plant American democracy in the heterogeneous cultural soil, the political, social, and economic conditions of Korea were beyond control of the Government. In the modern Korean history, the American Military Government left a stain distorting the national orthodoxy owing to the patronage of pro-Japanese collaborators. The authority of General MacArthur was a top organ of the Military Government in the Far East. The State Department was required to deal with Korea through the MacArthur Administration (Meade, 1951, p. 76).

Unlike political situations, the Military authorities viewed education as a seed to plant American democracy. In the first year of Korean occupation, like the administrative organization of the Government-General of Choson, the American Military governor was a top administrator, who headed the Secretariat, and by the directors of the Bureaus of Finance, Public Safety, Mining and Industry, Agriculture and Commerce, Public Health, Education, Justice, and Communication and Transportation (Meade, 1951, pp. 76-77). Within a year's time (1945-1946), the

Americans had created a centralized governmental structure considerably more complex than anything the people had experienced during their forty years under the Japanese (Meade, 1951, p. 77). Under the Bureau of Education, it had a director, an assistant director, and four chiefs: Chief of Colleges, Chief of Teacher's Colleges, Chief of Middle Schools, and Chief of Primary Schools (Eversull, 1947, p. 51). On March 29, 1946, the Bureau of Education was renamed as the Ministry of Education (Yu, 1992, p. 289). Additionally, under the Military Government, the organizational structure of the Bureau of Education was changed many times and increased its structure.

Before a new educational plan was initiated, as mentioned in higher education under the U.S. Military Government in Chapter Two, the Military Government in Korea proclaimed Ordinance 6 concerning the reopening of all previously existing educational institutions on September 29, 1945. After approximately two months, to establish new educational systems and philosophies as well as to erase the remnants of Japanese colonial education, the Military Government organized the National Committee on Educational Planning which constituted 80 Korean intellectuals and 10 American military officers (Adams, 1965, p. 4). The first meeting was held on November 23, 1945 (Yu, 1992, p. 290). Bongho Yu (1992) noted that the National Committee on Education Planning was composed of 100 members of educational and social leaders (p. 290). In addition, Sung-hwa Lee (1958) wrote that the Committee consisted of 81 members divided into 12 subcommittees, and that ten of its members were American military officers (p. 154). In March 1946, the committee set up a new educational framework based on Korean nationalism and American democratism.

In the context of Korean higher education, as a fruit of endeavor of the National Committee on Educational Planning, the Military Governor adopted Ordinance 102 on August 22, 1946, which provided for the establishment of Seoul National University (formerly Keijo Imperial University), with its 11 constituent colleges and one graduate school (Adams, 1964, p. 5; Eversull, 1947, p. 52). Seoul National University constituted:

College of Agriculture and Forestry at Suwon, College of Commerce, College of Dentistry, College of Education, College of Engineering, College of Fine Arts, College of Law, College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, College of Medicine, including School of Nursing and Nursing Education, and one Graduate School (Eversull, 1947, p. 52).

In Korean history, since the highest national institutions had been monopolized by the aristocratic or privileged people, the establishment of Seoul National University left a great educational achievement that made it possible for the populace to be equally admitted to the national university through fair entrance examinations.

Section I of the Ordinance 102 says:

> **Purpose**. The purpose of this ordinance is to provide for and make available to the people of Korea improved facilities for higher education, so that the youth of Korea may take advantages of the benefits and opportunities accruing therefrom, for the betterment of themselves as individuals and the Korean people as a nation in modern society. (Eversull, 1947, p. 52)

Under the influence of the above Ordinance, between 1946 and 1948, over 30 other national, public, and private tertiary institutes, including mission-supported and native-founded institutions, received government recognition (Adams, 1965, p. 5).

In spite of the increase of tertiary institutions, it was not easy for the Military authorities to plant American democratic educational ideas, administration, organizational systems, curricula, etc. in higher education, because of the deep-rooted Confucian traditions and the Japanese colonial remnants. For instance, the method of admission was by entrance examinations which were based on the *Kwa-keo* (the national civil service examinations) system. In addition, teaching styles of faculty members still maintained a way of monologic communication which was founded upon a Confucian instructional style, namely *kang-kyung* (reading). Furthermore, after the Liberation (1945), Korean educational administrators still showed autocratic attitudes

related to either Confucian or Shinto-Confucian authoritarianism (KNCU, 1960, pp. 117-118; Wood, 1961, p. 385).

In terms of educational administration theory and practice—organizational structure, culture, and leadership—although the Military Government adopted the centralized Japanese system (Meade, 1951, p. 76), administrative personnel of the Bureau of Education or the Department of Education attempted to adopt the decentralized and participative system under the entrepreneurial structure which typically constituted a top manager and some workers in the operative core. The National Committee on Educational Planning was a good example of the entrepreneurial structure. Unlike the highly centralized Japanese organizational structure that was accompanied by legitimate and coercive power, the U.S. Military educational administrators used a reciprocal form of technological interdependence with democratic leadership in order to plan new educational systems and ideas for the Korean people. The form is the highest level of interdependence that requires mutual adjustment and cooperative work.

Accordingly, the U.S. soldier educators preferred an open rational system to a closed formal system. Under such a system, they sowed a democratic seed that came out American culture in the unfavorable Shinto-Confucian soil. Under American Military rule, organizational culture in Korean higher education was budding in Americanism, including democratic ideology and liberal value. In addition, American utilitarianism, Protestantism, and pragmatism were important factors composed of organizational culture in Korean higher education.

During the three years of the U.S. Military reign, American soldier educators, armed with Americanism, contributed (1) to eradicate the remnants of Japanese colonial education, (2) to plant the seed of American democratic education in school systems, administration, and curriculum and instruction, (3) to train Koreans with Western practical knowledge and scientific skills, (4) to practice Koreanize education for the Korean people, appointing many Korean intellectuals who participated in a new educational plan under the U.S. Military Government guide and

assistance, (5) to provide opportunities to learn American ideas and culture directly and indirectly under the American people or in American colleges and universities, and (6) to increase many tertiary students and institutes, and to give the Korean people equal opportunities to enter colleges and universities. The Military Government did not sweep out the remains of Japanese colonial education because of the Koreans who had a pro-Japanese tendency. Sungho Lee (1989) notes that the Military Government made an effort to send Korean educators and students to the U.S. so that they could contribute to the rebuilding the national education system upon their return home (p. 98).

On the other hand, the U.S. Military Government did not sufficiently preplan for educational reformation, and many American educational administrators did not understand the Korean people and culture well (Meade, 1951; Sungho Lee, 1989). The Military Government used education as a major means for the democratization and Americanization of the Korean people (McGinn et al., 1980). However, so far as the Military Government's impact on Korean education is concerned, the critical side was ignored because the positive affairs done by the U.S. were greater than the negative. Both aspects will be reviewed in the following chapter.

IX. Contemporary Thoughts

1. The Context of Contemporary Korean Higher Education

After the Military Coup d'etat on May 16, 1961, the new Korean Government strongly felt the necessity for educational reform in order to establish a national identity and to modernize the country. With the emphasis on traditional cultural values and national identity, the Government also stressed practical knowledge and skills to develop both individuals and the nation. On December 5, 1968, the Charter of National Education, as the guiding principle in Korean education, was promulgated (The Ministry of Education, 1976). The Charter said:

> We have been born into this land, charged with the historic mission of regenerating the nation. This is the time for us to establish a self-reliant posture within and contribute to the common prosperity of mankind without, by revitalizing the illustrious spirit of our forefathers. We do hereby state the proper course to follow and set it up as the aim of our education.
>
> With the sincere mind and strong body improving ourselves in learning and arts, developing the innate faculty of each of us.... we will cultivate our creative power and pioneer spirit. We will give the foremost consideration to public good and order, set a value of efficiency and quality, and inheriting the tradition or mutual assistance rooted in love, respect and faithfulness....
>
> The love of the country and fellow countrymen together with the firm belief in democracy against communism is the way for our survival and the basis for realizing the ideals of the free world...

> we, as an industrious people with confidence and pride, pledge ourselves to make new history with untiring effort and collective wisdom of the whole nation. (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 3)

As appeared in this Charter, Korean education in the late 1960s and 1970s set up new curricula and methods for the recovery of national spirit and educational reform. During the two decades between liberation and the late 1960s the qualitative improvement of higher education was practically ignored although the rapid expansion of tertiary education was attributed to the strong desire of the Korean people (The International Encyclopedia of Higher Education, 1977, Vol. 6, p. 2402). As a result, the Charter also represented a new educational reform movement for modernization and quality of education.

In practice, higher education played an important role for Korean economic development as a pool of expertise by letting their constituents' work for development tasks (Korean Educational Development Institute, 1985, p. 214). Higher education was the driving force of Korean modernization. In particular, scientific and technical education played a vital role in Korean industrialization (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1993). In this vein, many engineering colleges were urged to reinforce specialized education required for national policy and regional development (Korean Overseas Information Services, 1993, p. 454). During the period between 1965 and 1975, higher education enrollment increased from 141,626 to 238,719 (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 179; The Ministry of Education [MOE] & Korean Educational Development Institute [KEDI], 1998a, p. 611).

From 1975 to the present, the expansion of higher education was inevitable because the rapidly growing Korean economy required a higher level of human resources development to improve the high quality of labor through increasing scientific knowledge and technical skills. There were 205 higher educational institutes with a total of 238,719 students and 13,981 faculty members in 1975 (The Ministry of Education [MOE]

& Korean Educational Development Institute [KEDI], 1998b, pp. 158-160), while 354 institutes with 3,154,254 students and 55,718 faculty members in 1999 (MOE & KEDI, 1999a, pp. 584-585). In 1999, higher educational institutes included colleges and universities including graduate schools, universities of education, industrial universities, air & correspondence university, junior vocational colleges, and miscellaneous schools of collegiate status with two to four-year courses. In general, Korean higher education divides itself into the above six categories.

In point of the history of Korean education, the Korean Government has directed the expansion of higher education since 1948 for the purpose of the country's industrialization. Accordingly, all institutions of higher education have been under the supervision of the Korean Government (Korean Council for University Education, 1988a; 1988b). With the rapid quantitative expansion of higher education, contemporary Korean higher education has produced some characteristics and problems organizationally, culturally, and administratively. Korean Overseas Information Services (1993) describes:

> The country already had witnessed a sudden disruption of old ways and customs caused by the massive influx of Western culture and technology.... It became necessary to determine a philosophical and ideological background for national endeavors towards modernization and to reinstate the traditional values as worthwhile resources of wisdom and knowledge for modern times. (p. 456)

In truth, this view is one of the most important present issues and future prospects for Korean higher education. In the following section, the author intends to discuss contemporary Korean higher education from the perspectives of educational administration.

2. Contemporary Korean Higher Education: Perspectives of Educational Administration

The Republic of Korea was established in South Korea through its handing over the reins of the U.S. Military Government on August 15, 1948. A Handbook of Korea (1993) notes:

> After the Soviet Union and the United States occupied Korea, each imposing its own system on the area under its jurisdiction, political conflict and social disorder became rampant. The internal disorder south of the 38th parallel worsened in proportion to the rigid regimentation of society under the communist system in the North until 1948, when two ideologically opposed governments were established. (p. 114)

Historically, an old tree, a country of Korea, which had its roots deep in the soil of its traditional ideas based mainly on Buddhism and Confucianism, was newly grafted on the heterogeneous ideas of Shinto-Confucianism and Western thought. The emerging South Korean Administration showed its new shape, planting American democracy and capitalism in the soil of Korean traditional culture. Thus, foreign thoughts, such as Christianity, Shinto-Confucianism, and other Western ideas, were already blended into the traditional Korean culture and became main branches of a Korean tree. Like the traditional thoughts, the external ideas also spread out their roots in Korean society and had a great impact on contemporary Korean education.

In this section, to explore the traditional and external thoughts influencing contemporary Korean higher education, the author first examines the legal basis of education and administrative structures which the new Korean Administration, Syngman Rhee's regime, set up as a cornerstone of the present educational system, and then briefly reviews the current administrative structure and educational system. Finally, the researcher will discuss the impact of current thoughts on organizational structure, culture, and leadership in Korean higher education.

3. Legal Basis of Education and Administrative Structure

The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea proclaimed on July 17, 1948 as follows:

> We, the people of the Republic of Korea, possessing a glorious tradition and history from time immemorial... Now at this time we are engaged in the re-establishment of a democratic and independent state and are determined:
>
> To consolidate national unity through justice, humanity, and fraternity; To establish democratic institutions, eliminating evil social customs of all kinds; To afford equal opportunities to every person and provide for the fullest development of the capacity of each individual in all fields of political, economic, social, and cultural life; To require each person to discharge his duties and responsibilities; ...Do hereby, in the National Assembly, composed of our freely and duly elected representatives, ordain and establish this Constitution.... (KNCU, 1960, p. 117)

As mentioned above, the Constitution of the Republic of Korea claims to stand for a democratic and independent state through democratic education. Article 16 of the Constitution says, "All citizens shall be entitled to equal opportunities of education" (KNCU, 1960, p. 606). In addition, as stated in Chapter Two, Article 1 of the Education Law, which was promulgated on December 31, 1949, noted that the aims of Korean education were to improve a well integrated personality, to develop the abilities for an independent life, and to enhance qualifications of citizenship to serve the development of a democratic nation (KNCU, 1960, p. 613). The Education Law, as one of two basic laws for education, set forth in more detail the aims and principles of education in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 20). In order to achieve these educational aims, Article 2 of

the Education Law specified seven educational objectives which include seven aspects of human life, such as good health, national independence, Korean culture, intellectual activities, harmonious social life, aesthetic life, and economic improvement. Article 2: In order to achieve these aims, the following educational objectives shall be set up:

> (1) Development of the knowledge and habits needed for the sound development and sustenance of health, and cultivation of an indomitable spirit.
> (2) Development of a patriotic spirit for the preservation of national independence and enhancement of an ideal for the cause of world peace.
> (3) Succession and development of our national culture and contribution to the creation and growth of the world culture.
> (4) Fostering of the truth-seeking spirit and the ability of scientific thinking for creative activity and rational living.
> (5) Development of the love for freedom and of high respect for responsibility necessary to lead well-harmonized community life with the spirit of faithfulness, cooperation, and understanding.
> (6) Development of aesthetic feeling to appreciate and create sublime arts, enjoy the beauty of nature, and to utilize the leisure effectively for joyful and harmonious life.
> (7) Cultivation of thrift and faithfulness to one's work in order to become an able producer and a wise consumer for economic life. (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 21).

As clearly stated in the Constitution and the Education Law, the legal foundation of Korean education is a democratic idea that guarantees an equal opportunity for education. In order to practice this ideology, both basic laws prescribe specific educational administration and system. According to Article 16 and 73 of the Constitution, the President of Korea is the top administrator who has the ultimate power to govern educational administration, but his authority is exercised through policy-making and the appointment of executive governmental officials. Article 16: All citizens shall be entitled to equal opportunities of education. The attainment of at least an elementary education

shall be compulsory and free of cost. All educational institutions shall be administered under the supervision of the State and the educational system shall be determined by law (KNCU, 1960, p. 606). In addition, Article 73: The heads of the Ministries of the Executive shall be appointed by the President among the members of the State Council (KNCU, 1960, p. 610).

Under the educational administrative structure of the Syngman Rhee Administration (1948-1960), the central agency of educational administration was the Ministry of Education. It was composed of a Minister, a Central Education Committee, a Vice-Minister, a Secretariat Office, and five bureaus: Bureau of Common Education, Bureau of Scientific Education, Bureau of Culture, Bureau of Textbooks, and Bureau of Higher Education (Adams, 1965, p. 10). To reflect public opinion on educational administration, the Central Education Committee is composed of 10 members elected by the educational committees of the nine provinces plus Seoul City and 20 members appointed by the President (KNCU, 1960, p. 118). In the Bureau of Higher Education, there were three sections: College Education, Normal Schools, and Higher Schools.

The Minister of Education had the responsibility to supervise educational administration and educational institutions, to make policies and to carry out orders of the Ministry of Education, and to draft law bills or presidential decrees pertaining to educational personnel (KNCU, 1960, p. 118). The Ministry of Education was responsible for common and higher education, scientific education, social education, physical education, compilation and copyrights of textbooks, educational finance, curriculum designing, school facilities, and cultural affairs. Also, the Ministry of Education directly or indirectly controlled and supervised all higher educational institutes: two to four year normal colleges, two to three year junior colleges, four to six year colleges and universities, and vocational and miscellaneous collegiate schools. According to the Education Law, the aim of a normal school and a normal college shall be training teachers for elementary, 3 year middle and high school (Article, 118). A 3 year normal school (secondary level institution) had an at-

tached elementary school, and a 2-4 year normal college (tertiary level institution) had an attached middle or high school.

In 1962, 9 of the 18 normal schools were upgraded to two-year junior teacher's colleges. In 1981, the junior teacher's colleges again upgraded to four-year institutions (Gannon, 1985, pp. 62-63). Without a great change, the above administrative structure was maintained until the Korean educational system was reorganized by a military council in 1961. After a group of military officers overthrew the Korean government in May 1961, they organized the Military Revolutionary Committee, which was renamed the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction on May 30, 1961. Korean higher education was reorganized by the Council in the same year. Under the reorganization, theological and other religious schools (miscellaneous collegiate institutes) lost college status, but they recovered full college status with degree granting authority from beginning with the 1964-65 academic year (Adams, 1965, p. 26).

The new Administration began with the inauguration of Chung Hee Park, who led the coup d'etat in 1961, as President in December, 1963 (KOIS, 1993; Nahm, 1988). As the Park Administration emerged, the Ministry of Education was reorganized into four bureaus: Common Education, Higher Education, Textbooks, and Culture and Physical Education. In particular, the Higher Education Bureau introduced a Science Education Section and a Professional Educational Section, for they reflected the importance with which science and professional technology were viewed by the Korean military government (Adams, 1965, p. 27). After that time, the educational administrative policies and systems were frequently changed, whenever a new regime, regardless of the civil or military government, seized political power.

At present, based on Chapter One, Article 9 of the Framework Act on Education (Act No. 5437, Dec. 13, 1997) and Article 1 of Higher Education Act (Act No. 5439, Dec. 13, 1997), higher education institutions can be established to conduct tertiary education for the Korean people. Accordingly, Article 2 of Higher Education Act (Act No. 5439) prescribes the types of

higher education institutions: universities and colleges, industrial colleges, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, air and correspondence colleges, technical colleges, and various kinds of schools.

4. The Current Educational Administrative Structure and School Systems

Under the Kim Administration (1998-present), the current administrative structure in Korean education is composed of three layers of administrative authorities: the Ministry of Education, local offices of education on the metropolitan and provincial level, and those on the county levels (KOIS, 1993; MOE & KEDI, 1999a & b). The top educational agency is the Ministry of Education. It is the central authority responsible for performing the Constitutional mandates for education, makes policies regarding education and science, takes actions for the implementation of policies and regulations, publishes and approves textbooks, directs and coordinates subordinate agencies for designing and policy implementation, and finally, supervises and supports educational institutions and agencies (KOIS, 1993, p. 456; MOE, 1998c, p. 38).

According to the organization of the Ministry of Education (MOE & KEDI, 1999b, pp. 66-67), the Ministry of Education consists of a Minister, who is a member of the Cabinet Council, a Vice-Minister, four branches, each headed by Minister or Vice-Minister, three bureaus, two offices, six officers, and thirty divisions. Four branches are Public Relations Officer, Inspector-General, Educational Policy Planning Officer, and International Cooperation Officer; two offices are the Planning and Management Office and the School Policy Office; Three bureaus are Lifelong Education Bureau, Higher Education Support Bureau, and Local Education Support Bureau. Lifelong Education Bureau consists of three divisions: Junior College Division, Vocational and Technical Education Division, and Lifelong Education Policy Division. The Higher Education Support Bureau consists of four divisions: Higher Education Finance Division, College Academic

Affairs Division, College Administration Support Division, and Graduate School Support Division.

Under the Higher Education Support Bureau, the following affairs are controlled or exercised by the above four divisions: (1) the establishment and closure of colleges and universities, (2) student quotas for each college and university, (3) personnel management of national or public tertiary institutions, including the appointment of all university presidents and independent college and college deans, (4) qualifications of teaching staff regardless of public and private institutions, (5) tuition fees for higher educational institutions, (6) inspection of educational facilities, (7) admission fees and procedures, (8) general standards for entrance and graduation, (9) curricula and degree requirements, (10) fiscal review, including all public and private tertiary institutions, (11) management of school affairs, etc. As examined in this section, from 1948 to the present time the Ministry of Education has been a top and central agency of Korean educational administration, and the Higher Education Support Bureau has controlled all Korean postsecondary institutions, except junior college institutions that are controlled by the Lifelong Education Bureau, directly or indirectly.

In terms of educational systems, the basic Education Law adopted a 6-3-3-4 ladder system: primary school (first to sixth grades), junior high school (seventh to ninth grades), senior high school (tenth to twelfth grades), and two to three-year junior college, four to six-year college and university (MOE & KEDI, 1999a). By the Constitution, primary school provides compulsory elementary education for children in the six to eleven age group; junior high school gives three years of lower secondary education for students in the twelve to fourteen age group; senior higher school offers three years of higher secondary education to students between fifteen to seventeen (The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 27; KOIS, 1993, p. 458; MOE, 1998c, p. 50). Senior high school graduates can enter one of any collegiate institutes after they pass the entrance examination at large. In general, senior high schools are classified into two categories, general and vocational. The former includes general academic

schools and correspondence schools, whereas the latter involves agricultural, commercial, fishery, and technical high schools (KOIS, 1993, p. 458; MOE, 1998c, pp. 58-64).

Higher educational institutions constitute (1) colleges and universities with four-year undergraduate programs and graduate programs, including six year medical colleges, (2) four-year teacher's colleges [university of education], (3) two to three-year junior vocational colleges, (4) miscellaneous schools of collegiate status with two to four-year courses, such as theological seminaries, nursing schools, etc., (5) an air and correspondence university, and (6) industrial colleges or universities. The Air and Correspondence University was established in 1972 for the purpose of providing opportunities for selected higher educational programs to those who lack an opportunity for college education for economic and other reasons such as legal restriction or cultural disadvantage (KOIS, 1993, p. 467; MOE & KEDI, 1998c; The Ministry of Education, 1976, p. 54).

In 1999, there were 158 four-six year colleges and universities, with 1,587,667 undergraduate students plus 204,773 graduate students and 41,226 teaching staff; 11 teacher's colleges [university of education] with 21,323 students and 708 teaching staff; 161 junior colleges with 859,547 students and 11,381 teaching staff; 4 miscellaneous schools with 6,126 students and 42 teaching staff; 1 air & correspondence university with 316,365 students and 109 teachers; and 19 industrial colleges or universities with 158,444 students and 2,252 teachers (MOE & KEDI, 1999a, pp. 584-585). Total 354 institutes {co-educational schools (336), women (17), and men (1); national (51), public (11), private (292)}, 3,154,245 students (women: 1,189,103; men: 1,965,142), and 55,718 teachers (women: 8,505; men: 47,213) (Ministry of Education & Korean Educational Development Institute, 1999a, pp. 584-585).

As constituted, the internal administrative organizational structure in Korean tertiary institutions varies considerably in degree of centralization (Adams, 1965). Regardless of somewhat different characteristics and size of higher educational institutions, the author introduces a typical organizational structure of

Korean public and private colleges or universities, borrowing Adam's (1965) typical organizational model of a Korean university. The President of each university or independent college is a top administrator who is supported by deans of colleges or chairpersons of departments and division directors. In general, there are several deans or chairpersons and directors in the offices or sections: the Office (Section) of Academic Affairs, the Office of Student Activities, the Office of Financial Affairs, Colleges and Graduate Schools or Academic Departments, and library. Under each office or section, there are usually two or several sub-offices, and staff in each sub-office support their mid-managers. In addition, to assist the President and to discuss major affairs, there is a council composed of all university or college councils and administrative faculty under the President. Of course, this type is flexible because each university or college has different size, mission, philosophy, organizational culture and systems, and managerial leadership.

5. The Impact of Contemporary Thoughts on Educational Administration in Korean Higher Education

Contemporary Korean higher education has been affected by the traditional thoughts and adapted ideas or systems.

First, a current educational system, a 6-3-3-4 ladder pattern, is adopted from an American educational system, but the Korean system adds a dual school system to a democratic single system. A dual school system does not give an equal chance for all irrespective of their politico-socio-economic status (KNCU, 1960, p. 122). The typical dual systems are *Gymnasium* versus (vs.) *Realschule* in Germany, grammar school vs. modern school in British, and high schools vs. vocational schools in Japan (KNCU, 1960, p. 122). Under the current secondary educational system in Korea, as the UNESCO committee pointed out in 1960, vocational school students are placed in a disadvantageous position because they do not have an equal opportunity to enter colleges or universities. Thus, Korean higher education does not

embrace all people equally under the current educational system imitated from American and Japanese ideas (Lee, 1999b).

Second, although the current administrative structure in Korean higher education has been patterned after American collegiate institutions, a highly centralized and formalized Japanese system adopted from both French and German ideas is used rather than an American democratic or participative administrative system. In comparative perspective, Korean higher education maintains highly centralized institutional hierarchy under a top-down system, whereas American higher education has relatively decentralized institutional hierarchy under the faculty council system. The Ministry of Education in Korea offers a focal point for articulation of group interest, in contrast with a dispersive point of control inherent in the American higher educational structure (B. R. Clark, 1992, pp. 231-232). Accordingly, a democratic or decentralized system in Korea is merely in words, while a vertically centralized system dominates Korean higher educational administration in practice (Korean Council for University Education [KCUE]), 1988a; Korean Educational Development Institute, 1985). In this vein, the organizational structure in current Korean higher education appears to maintain a closed rational system and Minzberg's machine bureaucracy that has a bureaucratic organizational structure.

Third, many college or university administrators in Korea usually stress not only traditional values and norms but also hierarchical order and authority. In other words, they generally use authoritarian leadership, which stems from Confucianism or Shinto-Confucianism, and are seldom or never allowed participation and discussion in decisions (KCUE, 1988a). In *the Religion of China*, Max Weber regards the Confucian gentleman ideal as the harmonious course of his administration, with providing the authoritative leadership (tr. Hans H. Gerth, 1962, pp. 131-133).

College administrators as opinion leaders rarely give communication networks to faculty members and students who are able to participate in the innovation-decision process as change agents or change-agent aides. They emphasize formalized

hierarchical order between supervisors and subordinates or between the old and the young, according to the Confucian hierarchical relationships of O-Ryun or Shinto-Confucian authoritative attitudes. In *the Philosophy of History*, Georg W. F. Hegel, a German philosopher, views the O-Ryun as the five main duties of the Chinese family, society, and state (tr. J. Sibree, 1956, p. 121). Like China, Korea also regards the O-Ryun as the basic ethical norms, which emphasize both hierarchical and reciprocal relationships, of the Korean family, society, and nation.

Although younger faculty members have more contemporary knowledge in Western science and technology than that of senior faculty members, this seldom affects the traditional systems of authority and hierarchy. Therefore, we might assume that college or university administrators are familiar with hierarchical authoritarian leadership rather than reciprocal democratic leadership and that they do not exercise effective leadership based on contingency theories yet.

Fourth, the relationships between faculty members and students follow the O-Ryun. The O-Ryun apparently shows hierarchical relationships, but practically involves reciprocal obligatory relationships with love or benevolence, one of the major ethical concepts in Confucianism. For the most part, however, college and university teaching staff exercise legitimate authority upon their students and compel them to obey under rigid regulations and traditional Confucian norms. Of course, some of other teaching members maintain reciprocal relationships with paternalistic authority, such as benevolence in Confucianism, charity in Buddhism, or love in Christianity.

In 1995, the number of religious people of the total Korean population (44,553,710) was 22,597,824 (50.7%): among them, Buddhists were 10,321,012 (45.7%); Protestants, 8,760,336 (38.8 %); Roman Catholics, 2,950,730 (13.0%); Confucians, 210,927 (0.9%); and others, 354,819 (1.6%) (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, 1998). In the case of Confucianism, however, although there is no organized Confucian church or temple, almost all Koreans are affected by Confucian norms, values, customs, and

manners. In other words, the Korean people are practically Confucians in practice, regardless of their belonging to certain religious denominations.

Finally, examination systems for entrance to college or university are rooted in the Kwa-keo (the Confucian civil service examination) system. To attend college or university, senior students, part of graduates from senior high school and those who passed a high school graduate qualifying examination must pass college or university entrance examinations. The Ministry of Education has administered a preliminary examination as an academic achievement test, and each college and university has a main examination and an interview in general.

In order to achieve this goal, senior high school students must attend classes almost all day, learning their subjects under their teachers' monological instruction and supervision. Like high school teachers, the majority of college's instructors usually employ a monologic way originated from Confucian academies, although they teach Western technology and science. Also, some of them try to keep authoritative attitudes and want to be respected by students, regardless of their lack of virtue or academic abilities.

Synthesizing these instances, Confucianism, Shinto-Confucianism, and American ideas mainly dominate current Korean higher education in terms of organizational structure, culture, and leadership, whereas Buddhism scarcely affects Korean higher education systematically and administratively. In the history of modern Korean education, higher education has rapidly expanded with the industrialization promoted by the Korean government since the late 1960s. Accordingly, postsecondary education became a means to achieve socio-political development under the uniform control of the Korean government and lost its diversity and autonomy. In fact, many original Christian missionary institutions as well as other private institutions lost their own characteristics and missions. Nevertheless, higher education has contributed to the tremendous economic success of Korea (Kihl, 1994; Korean Council for University Education, 1988a & b; Suhr, 1987). After this achievement, as Nam Pyo Lee

(1994) points out, Korean society is absorbed in materialistic and cornucopian trends (p. 53) which are contradictions in terms of Confucian humanitarian traditions, and higher education falls down as a tool for socio-economic development.

Despite the fact that Confucianism has contributed to the "economic miracle" in Korea, The traditional Korean ethical values and norms, based on Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and other native religious and philosophical ideas, are gradually decreasing, while materialism and utilitarianism based on Western thoughts are broadly increasing (Hart, 1993; Nam Pyo Lee, 1994). Max Weber, a German Sociologist, asserted that Confucianism was a hindrance to economic and scientific development in the traditional Chinese society.

On the contrary, some Western theorists claim that Confucianism has been a contributing factor to achieve an economic miracle in Confucian countries (de Bary, 1996; Eckert, Lee, Lew, Robinson, & Wagner, 1990; Hofstede & Bond, 1988). For example, the traditional values and norms are: emphasis on ethics and morality, filial piety, ancestral worship, reverence for seniors and teachers, a spirit of mutual help, a spirit of learned person (*seon-bi*), respect for learning, charity and humanity, freedom from avarice, etc.

Thus, Christianity and Western thoughts, particularly American ideas which modified Korean people and education, have brought about great economic and educational achievement. In particular, American democracy and scientific approaches have helped to achieve economic success and to expand higher education both quantitatively and qualitatively. On the other hand, Western ideas have also had a negative impact on Korean society and higher education. Mammonism and egoistic individualism are broadly pervasive and threaten the traditional Korean ethical values and norms. In addition, higher education is degrading as a tool to accomplish individual's socio-economic desire as well as a means to develop national economy under the names of industrialization and democratization. Thus, current higher education is going against not only the humanitarian Confucian or Buddhistic tradition but also a Christian human-

itarian spirit under the names of capitalism and scientism.

In conclusion, current Korean higher education is a mix of the traditional and grafted religious and philosophical thoughts, although it generally has a rigid organizational structure and culture affected by the traditional values.

6. The Characteristics of Contemporary Korean Higher Education

The author intends to discuss the characteristics of present Korean higher education from the perspectives of the following themes in educational administration theory and practice: organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. The other areas, such as politics and policy as well as economics and finance, are also essential factors in educational administration. However, the three fields are more closely related to the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing educational administration in current Korean higher education. For this reason, the first three themes will be examined from an educational administration standpoint in Korea.

(1) The Characteristics of Organizational Structure

The top and central agency of Korean educational administration is the Ministry of Education; that is, the central government organization responsible for the formulation and implementation of policies related to academic activities, science, and public education (MOE, 1998c, p. 38). It is the authority responsible for discharging the constitutional mandates for Korean education (Korean Overseas Information Service [KOIS], 1993; MOE, 1976; MOE, 1998c). All institutions of higher education, whether public or private, come under the direct or indirect supervision of the Ministry of Education in accordance with the Education Law and the relevant presidential and ministerial decrees (Gannon, 1985, p. 38; KOIS, 1993, p. 462; MOE, 1998c, p. 67; MOE, 1976, p. 44).

The Ministry of Education exercises control over such

matters as student quotas, qualifications of teaching staff, curriculum and degree requirements, general education, admissions procedures, admissions fee and tuition levels for colleges and universities determined, regulation for the establishment and closure of institutions, fiscal review, inspection of educational facilities, and so on (KOIS, 1993, p. 462; MOE, 1998c, p. 67). In addition, the appointment of presidents and members of the board of trustees in private colleges and universities is subject to approval by the Ministry of Education (KOIS, 1993, p. 462).

The governing systems of postsecondary institutions have been patterned after those of European and American colleges and universities (Ransoo Kim, 1991). Typically, the president nominates deans of colleges and division directors, and the department chairpersons are nominated by the president upon recommendation by each dean or division director. Major academic managerial and financial policies are made by the Board of Trustees (in private colleges and universities) and the Government (in public institutions). Top and middle line administrators of colleges and universities usually exercise strict rules, written documents, and hierarchical authority. Like the Ministry of Education, the organizational structure of each college and university also maintains a closed formal system. In recent years, although there has been a noticeable trend toward institutions of higher education assuming some degree of autonomy in examination, curricula and system operation, tuition adjustment, election of the president, and innovative educational programs, Korean politicians and educators still have some major conflicts over issues such as autonomy, excellence, and diversity (KCUE, 1988 b; MOE, 1998c, pp. 143-154).

In general, however, the characteristic of the organizational structure in Korean higher education is still a highly centralized closed formal system. From the above viewpoint, Korean postsecondary institutions have diminished in autonomy, quality, and diversity under the control of the Korean Administration, the Ministry of Education. In the light of Weber's theory of bureaucracy, the Ministry of Education has three types of authority because it rests on both formal and functional authority, tra-

ditional bureaucracy, centralized normative rules and regulations, and coercive power. The Korean Government uses coercive power to control all tertiary institutions both public and private, and also utilizes the lowest level of technological interdependence. Therefore, the Ministry of Education holds coercive power and a machine bureaucratic type in Korean higher education.

(2) The Characteristics of Leadership

Leadership as a major component of administration is inseparable from organizational structure and plays a major role in creating new organizational culture. In this section, the characteristics of leadership in current Korean higher education will be presented and analyzed from a leadership viewpoint.

As mentioned in the previous sections, Korean higher education has rapidly expanded in a short period to meet the national demands for high level manpower. Accordingly, the government and higher educational institutions are inseparable, and administration also becomes complex. Up to the present, Korean educational administration has been a highly centralized closed system that hinders democratic leadership. Indeed, the Korean Government has strictly controlled all higher educational institutes with authoritarian leadership. The Ministry of Education has practiced a legalistic authoritarian pattern rather than a democratic participative pattern. Thus, the Ministry of Education has deprived postsecondary institutions of autonomy and diversity.

Like the Ministry of Education, college and university administrators have usually utilized authoritarian leadership which stems from the Confucian principle of emphasizing relationships between superiors and subordinates. For example, the administrators seldom give faculty members and students communication networks to participate in the decision making process. Also, they generally allow no motivation, innovation, autonomy, and diversity. The force of personality urging a high degree of loyalty and devotion is still a trait of college administration in Korea. Accordingly, college and university administrators have

not exercised democratic and transformational leadership yet.

In brief, the characteristic of leadership in current Korean higher education is still authoritative. The major sources of its power are legitimate and coercive. Therefore, effective leadership based on a contingency approach is not practiced yet in current Korean higher education.

(3) The Characteristics of Organizational Culture

Culture of organizations is essential to enhance institutional environment. In organizations, organizational culture is interrelated with most other concepts in administration, such as organizational structure, leadership, communication, and organizational change. In this section, the characteristics of organizational culture in Korean higher education are analyzed with social values.

With the rapid expansion of Korean higher education since 1945, Korea has been much indebted for her industrialization to American higher education and Confucian values (de Bary, 1996; Tu Wei-ming, 1996). Traditionally, the Korean people have maintained the Confucian values and principles: (1) encouragement of learning, (2) emphasis on self-cultivation and social morality, (3) stress on family or clan regulation, (4) insistence on class notions and male authority, (5) reverence for rulers, parents, teachers, and the old, (6) worship of ancestors, and (7) accent on rules and rituals (Lee, 1999b). Based on these values, the culture of the Korean higher educational system sustains the hierarchical structure of interpersonal relationships between administrators and subordinates, with authoritarian interaction patterns.

Under the traditional Confucian values, the authoritative bureaucracy as an administrative instrument of rules tends to be highly formally centralized in Korean society and education. The hierarchical structure of relationship requires strict communication patterns. In general, subordinates or youngsters use honorific forms of address when speaking to superiors or older persons (Lee, 1999a, p. 17). In fact, the hierarchical superior/subordinate or the old/the young relationships is especially reflected in Korean higher education.

For example, in a faculty meeting, the seating arrangements are usually determined by status—based on rank, age, and gender (Lee, 1999a; 1999b). According to the Confucian ethical principle, the *O-Ryun* (the Five Codes of Ethics), the young faculty should respect the senior faculty who have high positions with authoritative power, according to an age-ranking system. *O-Ryun* is based on the five basic relationships of: the subject to the ruler, the son to the father, the wife to the husband, the young to the old, and between friends. The *O-Ryun* stipulates that (1) the ruler should show justice, and the subject should show loyalty; (2) father should show love, and son filial piety; (3) husband should show initiation, and wife obedience; (4) the old should show benevolence, and the young reverence; and (5) friends should show mutual faith in each other (Lee, 1999b).

In practice, the young faculty use honorific words to the senior faculty regardless of status, career, or gender. In the Analects, a Confucius' text which forms the principal source for Confucius philosophy (The Oxford Dictionary of Philosophy, 1994, p. 75), Confucius (551 BC-479 BC) who was one of the most famous thinkers and political theorists in China emphasized *seong* (sincerity) which is regarded as honesty to oneself and truthfulness toward superiors, seniors, teachers, and parents. In addition, *cheong-myung* (rectifying name) is one of important factors for leaders to correctly perceive an effective leadership and to gain the legitimate authority.

Considering the interpersonal relationships between senior faculty and young faculty, the author believes that Confucian thought views these as reciprocally obligatory relationships based on hierarchical relations. For instance, junior faculty generally defer to senior faculty, and senior faculty usually deal with junior faculty leniently. In the Analects, Confucius asserted *in* (love or benevolence) is one of the major concepts to cultivate oneself and to build social harmony. In this vein, as Hofstede and Bond (1988) point out, the reciprocal relationship based on Confucianism, as a prototype of social organizations, is conducted in Korean higher education much like that in the Japanese business culture.

On the other hand, the relationships between faculty members and students follow the Confucian ethical principle, the *O-Ryun*. Faculty members generally control their students with both legitimated authority and moral norms which made partly analogues to those obtaining between parents and offspring (Janelli, 1993). Students believe that they are indebted to their teachers for the benefits (*eunhae*) they bestowed—providing teaching, advice, encouraging mental abilities, and moral development—just as daughters and sons were indebted to parents (Janelli, 1993, p. 45).

Considering the above information, the author points out that the characteristics of organizational culture in Korean higher education are formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian values both hierarchically and reciprocally. Korean postsecondary educators need to make radical reform to establish strong organizational culture in colleges and universities. In particular, the process of creating the organizational culture in contemporary Korean higher education is not simple because many foreign visible and invisible values—such as artifacts, norms, values, rituals, and assumptions—flow into Korean education. Finally, a general discussion of evaluations or findings will be presented in Part Four, suggesting the implications of contemporary educational administrative theory and practice for Korean higher education.

Part Four
Summary and Conclusion

X. Summary and Conclusion

XI. Implications for Korean Higher Education and Educational Administration

X. Summary and Conclusion

To examine the religious and philosophical factors historically influencing contemporary Korean higher education, the author posed three research questions. In order to clearly understand the development of Korean higher education, the researcher briefly illustrated the historical background of the study through classifying two main historical epochs in Part Two: elite education in the traditional period (57 BC-AD 1910) and higher education in the modern period (1910-1990s). Again, the traditional period was classified into three eras: the Three Kingdoms (57 BC-AD 668) and the Unified Silla Kingdom (668-935), the Koryo (918-1392) Kingdom, and the Choson Dynasty (1392-1910). The modern period was divided into three eras: Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945), the United States Military Government (1945-1948), and the Republic of Korea (1948-1990s).

To defend the first research question, in Part Three some traditional and adapted thoughts were reviewed in the following six sections: (1) Buddhism in the traditional period, (2) Confucianism in the Choson period, (3) Christianity and Western thoughts in the late Choson period, (4) Japanese imperialism under its colonial rule, (5) Americanism under the U.S. Military Government, and (6) contemporary thoughts. Based on the six sections, the researcher evaluates religious and philosophical thoughts that have contributed to the development of contemporary Korean higher education.

Buddhism and Confucianism, as two significant religious and philosophical factors, had great effects on Korean culture and society in the traditional period. Buddhism as the first factor was introduced by China during the Three Kingdoms' period and became a cult of the royal house. Gradually, Three Kingdoms'

Buddhism became an amalgamation of foreign religions with the native folk religious ideas and formed the unique variety of state-protection Buddhism. Under the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo Dynasty, Buddhism provided political and ethical guidance to the Korean people. During the Choson period, however, Buddhism was eliminated because Neo-Confucianism was adopted as a national religion.

In the context of educational institutions, the first factor demonstrated that *Hwarang* (Flowers of Youth) was an educational institute for the elite Silla youth who met as a group to learn and exercise Buddhist ideas, Confucian morality, Taoist philosophy, military techniques, etc. As indicated in Chapter Four, the researcher assumes that the *Hwarang* was the most prominent Buddhist institution in the Three Kingdoms period because the elite members of the *Hwarang* were particularly devoted to the cult of *Maitreya* and took their names based on Buddhist legend and figures. Although the educational ideology of the *Hwarang* was a synthesis of the thoughts of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and Silla nationalism with its folk beliefs, an ultimate goal of the *Hwarang* was to identify with *Maitreya*. For this reason, the author believes that Buddhism was the first main factor in *Hwarang's* education.

With respect to higher education, very few sources exist from the Buddhist formal elite educational institutes in the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom, and the Koryo Kingdom. Regarding these valuable ancient historical records, the author indicated that elite education had been practiced dichotomously: one was related to the classical Confucian education, and the other was concerned with Buddhist sutras and monastic schools. I estimate Buddhist schools in the traditional period were informal religious monasteries to foster elite monks.

As readers will recall in Chapter Four, from an educational administrative viewpoint, we might assume that Buddhist institutions had a dogmatic closed system with authoritative power and monastic original culture that stressed religious rites and rituals. In the traditional period, Buddhist monastic informal institutions maintained a closed rational system, coercive power,

Minzberg's machine bureaucracy, and religious dogmatic organizational culture. In considering the Korean historical remains, Buddhism had a great impact on Korean society and culture during the traditional period, except the Choson Kingdom period, although it did not affect formal education systematically.

Also, the author assumes that Buddhism has an effect on contemporary Korean formal higher education spiritually and religiously, because the Great Mercy and Compassion, based on the spirits of *Bodhisattva* and *Maitreya*, has been one of the inner factors of organizational culture and leadership, including the Right Eightfold Way based on the *Dharma* (the teaching of Buddhism). In current Korean society, charity or mercy is one of valuable ethical elements which many administrators or leaders possess, like Confucian benevolence or love. The Right Eightfold Way is also an important factor in the cultivation of an individual's virtuous conduct.

Like Buddhism, Confucianism as the second factor has been a main current of traditional ideas in Korea. Confucianism was introduced to Korea through China before the diffusion of Chinese civilization and was adopted as the principle of governmental and educational systems. Until the late Koryo era, Buddhism, as a key institution, dominated the entirety of Korean society and culture, while Confucianism, as a minor institution for formal elite education, diffused the political-ethical values to the upper class. From the beginning of the Choson dynasty, however, Confucianism was a national ideology and religion. The Choson dynasty set up a strictly authoritarian bureaucratic society through formal Confucian institutions and *Kwa-keo*. The Kwa-keo, as a backbone of Confucian education, was the system of national civil service examinations to establish the Choson rulers' sovereign power to maintain their own privileges and interests. Accordingly, the *Kwa-keo* and Confucian education were inseparable in the Choson period. Chapter Five also illustrates the Choson royal governmental administrative structure and its educational administrators, including Seongkyunkwan (the National Confucian Academy or University) and the *Kwa-keo* system.

Considering the administrative structure of the Seong-kyunkwan, the researcher assumes that the Academy had a highly centralized bureaucratic structure and exercised authoritarian leadership, like the royal governmental organizational system. Additionally, the seating position was based on rank determined by the order of official position and age. Thus the author postulates that the organizational culture of the University was a closed rational system that maintained formal authoritarianism, monologic communication, and an age-ranking system. The formal Confucian bureaucratic organizational culture was transferred to the current Korean society.

Comparing the system of Choson's Confucian elite education with that of contemporary Korean higher education on the bases of both Chapters Five and Nine, the researcher believes that the former is almost similar to the latter regarding organizational structure, leadership, and organizational culture. Therefore, Confucian elite educational institutions show Weber's bureaucratic model, coercive power, Thompson's pooled interdependence, and Minzberg's machine bureaucracy, with authoritarian leadership and Scott's rational system. Of course, the royal governmental administrators sometimes had a preference for participative leadership, but they usually used authoritarian leadership under a closed rational system.

In Chapter Six, the author discussed Christianity and Western ideas. Like Buddhism and Confucianism, Christianity and Western thoughts were adopted as significant religious and philosophical elements in the late Choson period and exerted a great influence upon the development of Korean modern education. The second section shows the contexts of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Roman Catholic mission activity started to reach Korea in the early seventeenth century, while the first foreign evangelistic Protestant agency, the American Presbyterian Church, began its mission in 1884. Unlike Roman Catholicism, Protestantism attempted to harmonize with Confucian sociopolitical ideologies and other traditional Korean religious culture. Especially, Christian egalitarianism and humanism were embraced by the populace. Furthermore, Western ideas

and science were attractive to many Koreans regardless of socio-economic level.

Based on information presented in Chapter Six, medical and educational missions were the most important elements contributing to the success of Christianity. Roman Catholic missionaries were educational pioneers who taught Korean letters to the Korean masses. Also, Protestant missionaries opened many secondary and collegiate institutions. The Christian missionary work had a great effect on the development of Korean higher education in the following ways: planting of Christianity and recognition of the importance of Western practice and science, opening of democratic and female education, introducing the Western institutional administrative systems and curricula, teaching the spirit of independence and self-reliance, and finally, presenting the valuable Western thoughts, such as Christian humanism, Puritanism, egalitarianism, democratism, utilitarianism, and pragmatism.

In terms of educational administrative theory and practice, Christian higher educational institutes maintained Minzberg's entrepreneurial organizational structure, although some missionary educators managed their schools with bureaucratic characteristics. Christian missionary administrators generally used both expert power and referent power which depended on the administrator's special knowledge and respectable personality. Additionally, they preferred transformational leadership with Etzioni's normative power because they encouraged the Korean people to achieve higher levels of morality and motivation. Also, the characteristics of organizational culture were formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian paradigms as well as informal democratism and Western individualism based on Christian norms. These two paradigms have become the most significant factors that dominate organizational culture in current Korean higher education.

In Chapter Seven, Japanese imperialism based on Shinto-Confucianism also had an impact on the development of Korean higher education, like Christianity. The researcher first examined Shintoism to analyze Japanese imperialism and colonial edu-

cational policy. The chapter indicates that Shinto, a nationalistic Japanese cult or religion, cannot be separated from Buddhism, Confucianism, and other Asian continental influences. Chapter Seven also indicates that Shinto-Confucianism offered Japanese imperialists absolute ethical values and totalitarian military criteria. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), the Japanese imperial authorities gave some privileged Koreans higher educational opportunities for training a pro-Japanese elite group.

For convenience' sake, the author discussed primarily a colonial imperial university. Although the Japanese colonial administrators built Keijo Imperial University, a colonial institute which copied the metropolitan imperial universities, they intentionally did not establish such departments of politics, economics, and engineering in the University. Despite this discriminative educational policy, the heritage of Japanese colonialism shaped the nature of modern Korean universities and left both positive and negative impacts on current Korean higher education, as noted in Part Three.

However, Korean intellectuals would have achieved such a positive accomplishment without Japanese educational policy and performance because patriotic Korean leaders and Christian missionary educators already opened several collegiate institutions prior to Japanese annexation. Thus, Japanese colonial authorities resulted in becoming a negative influence rather than a positive one on the Korean people.

In the negative light, as Japanese imperial administrators solidified totalitarian attitudes with the Confucian authoritative bureaucratic system in terms of higher educational administration, many Korean educators, who were educated under the Japanese colonial government did not receive a chance to approach a democratic decentralized system. In addition, Korean tertiary institutions were also deprived of opportunities to plant Western models suited for Koreans' needs and followed the strictly centralized closed organizational structure and culture by Japanese educational politics and policy.

From an educational administrative perspective, colonial

administrators maintained a highly centralized closed system under authoritative power. Based on the fourth section in Part Three, the Japanese colonial authorities demonstrated Weber's bureaucratic characteristics with coercive power and Mintzberg's machine bureaucracy. In addition, they applied both authoritarian leadership and charismatic leadership to colonial higher education. For this reason, all tertiary institutions under Japanese rule lost their own missions and autonomy. Finally, the organizational culture of colonial higher education displayed totalitarian militarism or imperialism based on Shinto-Confucianism.

Chapter Eight notes the American influence under the United States Military Government from 1945 to 1948. The chapter concludes that the Military authorities tried to plant American democracy through the means of education. Unlike political difficulties, the U.S. Military Government allowed the Koreans many opportunities to learn and practice Western science and technology both directly and indirectly. Also, the Military Government planted the seed of democratic education under its Koreanization policy for the Korean people and tried to eradicate the remains of Japanese colonial education.

In terms of educational administration, the U.S. Military educational administrators attempted to adopt a decentralized or participative system under Minzberg's entrepreneurial structure. The National Committee on Educational Planning was a good example of this entrepreneurial structure. Thus, they used Thompson's reciprocal form of technological interdependence with democratic leadership to plan new educational systems and philosophies for the Korean people. We can theorize then that the U.S. Military educators demonstrated an open rational system rather than a closed formal system. Although it was not easy to sow a democratic seed in the unfavorable Shinto-Confucian soil, the U.S. Administrators achieved success in planting democratic ideas with American utilitarianism, Puritanism, and pragmatism in the soil of Korean higher education. The author suggests that these ideologies and values have become the main organizational culture in current Korean tertiary education.

However, despite the fact that the educational contribution

of the U.S. Military Government can be recorded as a great achievement in the history of Korean higher education, I suggest the new generation is losing valuable traditional Korean cultural heritage. After the establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948, the Korean people took steps toward gradual Americanization, discarding the traditional moral values for Western materialism and scientism. This loss of Korean heritage has become a large issue in Korean society and education today.

In the final section of Part Three, the researcher examined the context of contemporary Korean higher education and then illustrated the legal basis of Korean education. Next, the current Korean educational administrative structures and school systems under both the first regime and the current government were discussed. The Constitution and the Education Law of Korea claim to stand for democratic or egalitarian education. To practice democratic education, the Ministry of Education as a central agency controls and supervises educational administration as well as higher educational institutions. The final section notes the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education.

In consideration of a current educational system, the basic Educational Law adopts a 6-3-3-4 ladder system. Higher educational institutions consist of colleges and universities with four-year undergraduate and graduate programs, including six-year medical colleges, four-year teacher's colleges, two or three-year junior vocational colleges, miscellaneous collegiate schools, a correspondence university, and industrial universities. All tertiary institutions are uniformly controlled under the Korean government. Regarding the current Korean educational administrative structure and practice, the readers will recall its discussion in Chapter Nine.

Finally, the second section of Chapter Nine notes the impact of contemporary thoughts on educational administration in Korean higher education. Contemporary higher education has been affected by both the traditional thoughts and the adopted ideas. The inquirer analyzed both ideas, discussing five instances: a current educational system, a current administrative structure, attitudes of college and university administrators, relationships

between faculty members and students, and examination systems.

Summing up these examples, the researcher estimates that Confucianism, Shinto-Confucianism, and American ideas dominate current Korean higher education from the perspectives of organizational structure, culture, and leadership, while Buddhism exerts little influence on Korean higher education systematically and administratively. With a rapid expansion of Korean higher education, the inquirer indicates that the valuable traditional Korean thoughts have gradually diminished, whereas materialism, utilitarianism, and scientism based on Christianity and Western ideas have broadly augmented in Korean society and higher education.

In the history of modern Korean higher education, as the readers will recall in Part Three, Christianity and Western ideas, especially American democracy and scientific approaches brought a great economic and educational accomplishment. With this positive result, there is also a negative one. The author points out that mammonism and egoistic individualism, under the aegis of industrialization or modernization, threaten the traditional values and norms. Additionally, current higher education is degrading as a tool to accomplish the individual's socio-economic desire while ignoring human ethics and morality. Accordingly, both the traditional and the grafted humanitarian spirits are threatened by educational acculturation and indiscreet Westernization.

In conclusion, both the traditional and the adopted religious and philosophical ideas, which were discussed in this book, have significantly affected the development of Korean tertiary education as well as current higher education. The grafted thoughts have contributed to a substantial aspect, while the traditional thoughts have influenced a spiritual side. Strictly speaking, however, both the traditional and the adopted thoughts have led to Korean higher education's interdependent relations and have brought qualitative growth as well as quantitative expansion in terms of the development of Korean higher education.

To defend the second research question, the author analyzed the characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education regarding organizational structure, leadership, and organizational

culture from the perspectives of American educational administrative theory and practice. Based on these analyses, the researcher evaluates the characteristics as follows.

First, the organizational structure of Korean tertiary institutions has shrunk in autonomy and diversity under the uniform control of the Korean government. The Ministry of Education exhibits Weber's three types of authority because it depends on formal and functional authority, traditional bureaucracy, centralized normative rules and regulations, and charismatic power. Therefore, the Korean government utilizes coercive power to control all higher educational institutions regardless of public and private, and also uses Thompson's pooled interdependence and Minzberg's machine bureaucratic type. In conclusion, Korean higher education still uses a rational system, according to Scott's (1992) three perspectives of organizations.

Second, we might assume that the characteristic of leadership in contemporary Korean postsecondary education is authoritative. The main sources of its power are legitimate and coercive. Like the Ministry of Education, college administrators generally allow little motivation, innovation, autonomy, and diversity. The force of personality urging a high degree of obedience and devotion is still a predominant trait of college administration. Thus, college administrators usually exercise an authoritarian model of Iowa's three leadership styles and focus on the employee-centered leadership behavior of Michigan Studies. In addition, the major sources of their power are legitimate and coercive. For this reason, the author believes that administrators in Korean higher education have generally relied on a power-influence approach rather than a contingency approach that is based on the interaction of the leader's traits, behaviors, and situational factors.

Finally, the characteristics of organizational culture under the current educational system appear to maintain the hierarchical structure of interpersonal relationships between supervisors and subordinates, with authoritarian interaction patterns. The traditional Confucian values and principles generally dominate organizational culture in Korean higher education, although Western thoughts and science were already diffused to tertiary insti-

tutions. Considering the reflections of Part Three, we might assume that the characteristics of organizational culture in Korean higher education are formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian values. On the other hand, foreign visible and invisible ideas and assumptions have been adopted by Korean higher education under the movement of democratization and industrialization. Now, having achieved the higher stages of economic development, the traditional values and paradigms are gradually decreasing, whereas foreign values and assumptions are rapidly increasing. Therefore, the main characteristics of organizational culture in Korean higher education demonstrate two aspects: original branches as traditional philosophies and norms and grafted branches as external assumptions and symbols.

XI. Implications for Korean Higher Education and Educational Administration

As indicated in Part Three, many historic spiritual and practical factors have greatly affected the development of Korean higher education. Historically, Korean elite education in the traditional period maintained the Confucian academic tradition that emphasized hierarchical authority, a highly centralized bureaucratic organizational structure, authoritarian leadership, and a rigid Confucian organizational culture based on Confucian values, norms, and rites. These elements were handed down to current Korean higher education as major factors which become key values and norms in educational administration, although they were somewhat diluted by newly adopted foreign ideas.

Since the late Choson period, Western thoughts have been grafted to the traditional Korean ideological branch and have spread out new branches with heterogeneous leaves. Now the grafted branches have produced their own flowers and fruits of spiritual and cultural fragrance. The fragrance emits a decentralized entrepreneurial organizational structure, participative leadership, expert or referent power, and democratic organizational culture based on Christian and Western ideologies, values, and paradigms. In current Korean society, the above two heterogeneous thoughts coexist under democratization and industrialization. As a result, how both the traditional and the adopted thoughts implicate current Korean higher education and administrative theory and practice is a major issue.

Based on the evaluations in this study, the author intends to defend the final research question in terms of three themes in educational administration. First, the organizational structure in current Korean higher education appears to maintain machine

bureaucracy, according to Minzberg's theory, because of the uniform control of the Ministry of Education and Confucian hierarchical authoritarianism. Accordingly, Korean tertiary institutes, both public and private, lost diversity and autonomy under a closed rational system.

Since 1960s, the Korean government has regarded higher education as a means or a cohesive force for socio-economic development and has consequently achieved economic success, as a human capitalist's theory. With this success, the political situation has changed from a military regime into a democratic government. Despite the economic and the political changes, the educational administrative structure still holds fast to the traditional model of authority and hierarchy. Under the vertically closed system, neither colleges nor universities have their own character or autonomy, nor have these achieved the horizontal organizational structure and qualitative progress.

To change the current rigid closed system, the researcher suggests Minzberg's professional bureaucracy or his diversified form as an alternative model because the former supports collateral or horizontal linkage, complex and stable environment, strong organizational culture, and professionals, while the latter sustains diversified environment, coordinate mechanism, its own subculture, the middle management line as a key part of organization, and centralization within departments or divisions. In addition, the inquirer also suggests the inclusion of Thompson's reciprocal form which requires mutual adjustment and cooperative work. If college administrators exercise these theories effectively, each college or university can change its closed rational organizational structure into an open rational or a natural system and then develop in diversity and autonomy.

Second, leadership as a major component of administration is also an important issue in current Korean higher education. As mentioned in the previous Chapters, we might assume that the Korean elite and higher educational administrators used authoritarian leadership with coercive and legitimate power based on Confucianism. In current Korean higher education, many young faculty members, who have more current knowledge in

Western science and technology, sometimes have conflicts with senior faculty members or administrators possessing authoritative attitudes based on age-ranking and male dominant Confucian principles. In addition, male faculty members or administrators frequently discriminate against female faculty members when making selection for teaching positions or in promotions. Whenever these chronic instances occurred, the authoritative leadership was challenged by radical individuals to change the contemporary power system and to give open competition.

To achieve *true* democratic higher education in Korea, I suggest that educational administrators should apply House's path-goal model to their administrative practices. The path-goal model presents four behaviors of leadership: support, direction, participation, and achievement-oriented leadership. This model, which is based on democratic leadership, suggests that a leader's conduct is determined by the leader's traits, behaviors, and various situational factors. In particular, participative leadership gives subordinates an opportunity to participate in academic and managerial decision making. If administrators share their responsibility and authority with subordinates, *true* democratic education will be practiced effectively or successfully.

Lastly, organizational culture in current Korean higher education is not simple. As indicated in Chapter Nine, the characteristics of organizational culture in Korean tertiary education are formal authoritarianism and traditional collectivism based on Confucian values and paradigms, but foreign visible and invisible ideas flow into Korean society, which have had an enormous impact upon Korean higher education. In the history of modern Korea, the introduction of Western thought and science is inevitable for Korean modernization or industrialization because Korean traditional thoughts were lacking in Western scientific knowledge and logical thinking. The traditional Korean values and the foreign assumptions have smoothly integrated to become the main organizational culture in contemporary Korean society and higher education. Despite the combination of these two heterogeneous cultures, both cultures have sustained interdependent relationships and have contributed to Korean economy.

In the context of educational administrative practice, however, the symmetrical balance of both cultures has some flaws. As indicated in Chapter Nine, old and new thoughts have brought conflicts between the old and the young people, amongst the administrators, faculty members, and students. Consequently, Korean postsecondary educators need to make a radical reform to establish strong organizational culture in colleges or universities. Therefore, in order to make strong organizational culture in Korean higher education, the author cites some common keys proposed from Burton R. Clark's (1970; 1992) view. In *the Distinctive College*, Clark (1992) presented two stages, initiation and fulfillment, for making the healthy organizational saga in higher education. According to his idea, in the first stage an institutional innovation should be fostered under the three main conditions: new organizations, crisis in an established institution, and evolutionary openness in an established institution (Clark, 1992, p. 237). In the second stage, senior faculty, curricula, alumni, students, and the imagery of the saga should be key elements so as to create the new organizational culture in current Korean higher education.

Based on the foregoing history and changing goals of organizational structures, we might predict the organizational behavior and culture of current Korean higher education as follows:

(1) Korean higher education will continuously maintain Minzberg's machine bureaucratic organizational type because it sustains formal and functional authority and a bureaucratic organizational type, unless it changes a closed system into a natural or open system.
(2) College administrators in Korea will exercise an authoritarian model of Iowa's three leadership styles and an employee-centered leadership behavior of Michigan Studies because they seldom share their power with their subordinates and usually stress the force of personality urging a high degree of obedience and devotion based on traditional Confucian norms, if they do not share their power with their

subordinates.

(3) Educational leaders in Korean colleges and universities will still demonstrate authoritative attitudes because they are familiar with Etzioni's coercive power model that uses coercive force to control low level people with legitimate and authoritative power. In addition, they rarely attempt to make democratic climates and participative leadership because they want to stick to strong formal Confucian authoritarianism.

(4) Internally, the imbalance of the traditional and the adopted cultures will be worsen because both cultures bring many conflicts between the old and the young people as well as between the traditional and the new paradigms. Externally, however, both cultures will make healthy organizational culture in Korean higher education because they will maintain inseparable relationships for the national development politically, economically, and socially.

On the basis of the above prediction, I suggest several general approaches to improve Korean higher education and educational administration (Lee, 1999a, p. 17):

(1) To transform the mechanical bureaucratic organizational structure, administrators must become change agents. In order to achieve this goal, the formal, bureaucratic, and closed system of political and administrative reality should evolve into an informal, decentralized, natural, or open system that allows subordinates to participate in the decision-making process.

(2) To change organizational behavior, college or university administrators need to share power with their subordinates to create mutual trust and a positive climate, under democratic leadership.

(3) To enhance autonomy and diversity in Korean higher education, the uniform control of the Ministry of Education should be gradually discontinued or diminished.

(4) To create a strong organizational culture within Korean higher education, those in authority should begin to share

responsibility with subordinates and establish communication networks for them.

Finally, although this study uses no empirical methods based on experimental designs or surveys to defend the research questions and has a few weaknesses, such as the reliance on literature sources of general or abstract manners and a broad treatment with several academic fields, such as religion, philosophy, history, sociology, and education, the author hopes that it will provide the present and future Western people with useful information to understand the development of Korean higher education and provide a practical research mode to Korean educational practitioners. Also, it will predict valuable professional elements as a road map for future studies concerning Korean higher education to Western and Korean educators.

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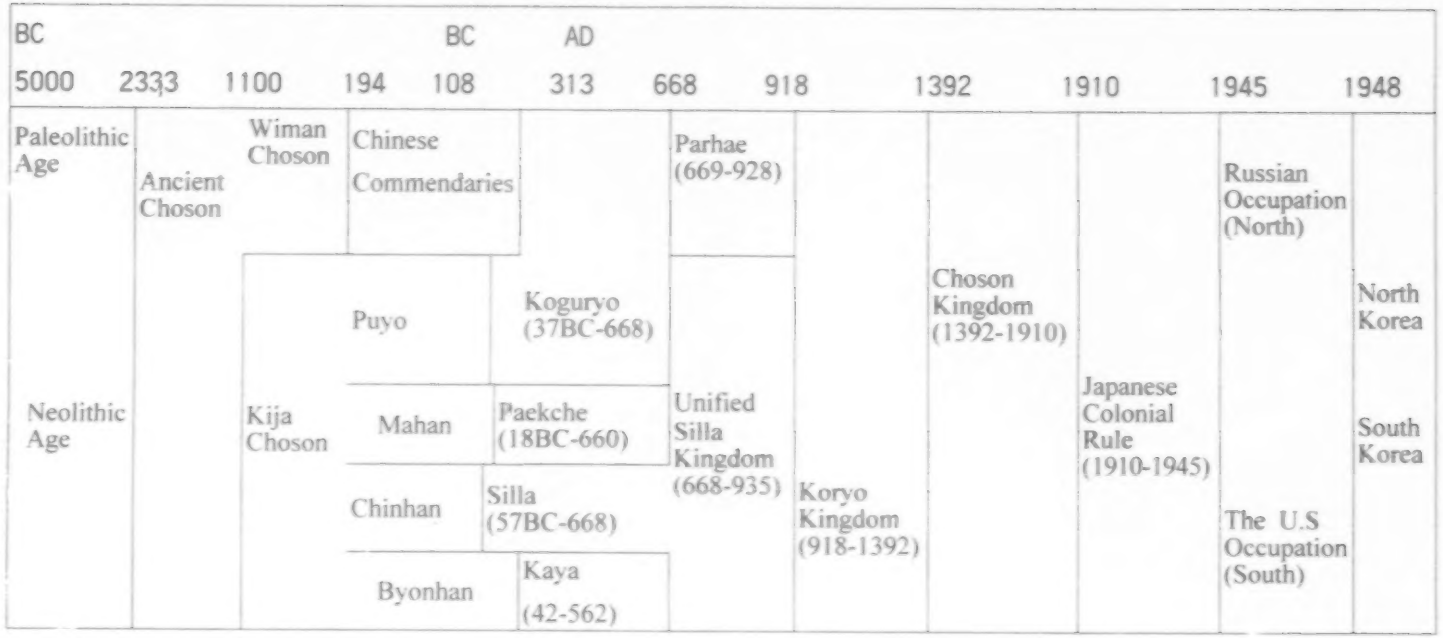
Appendixes

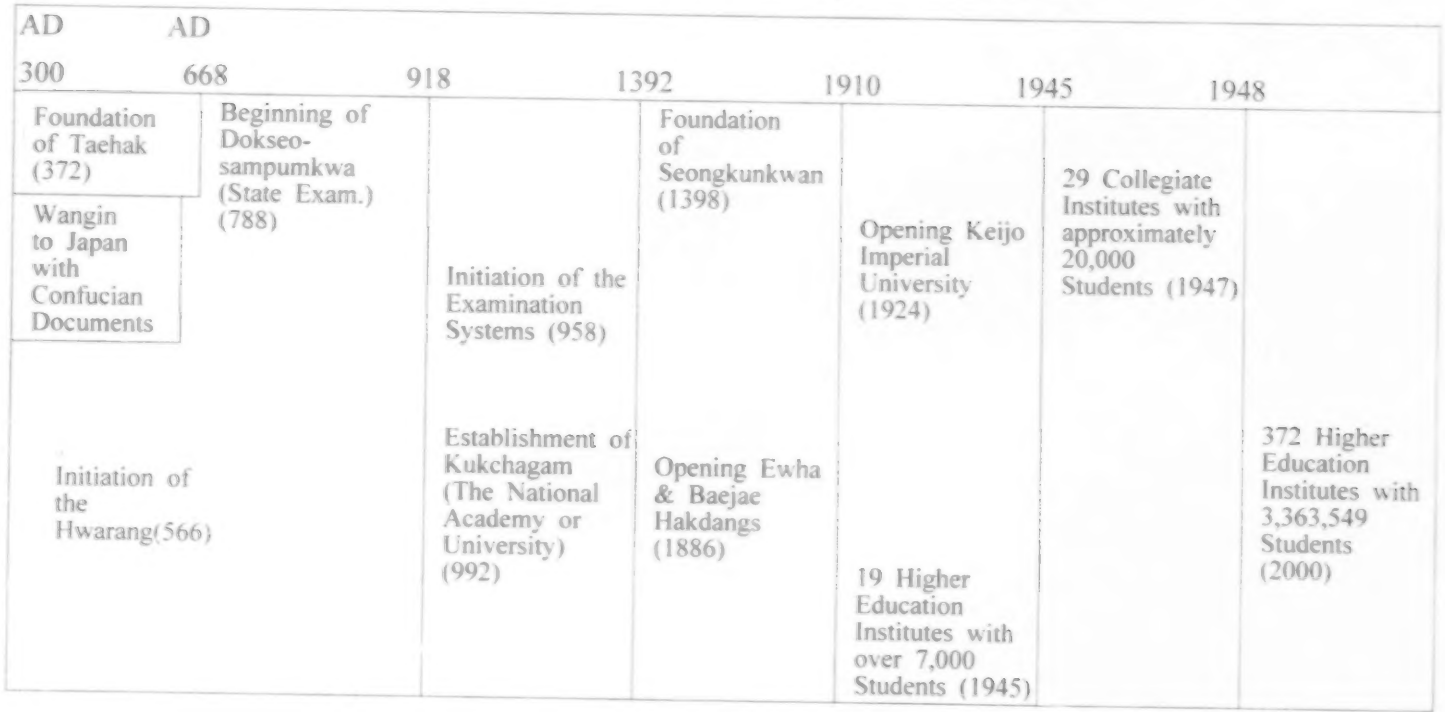
Appendix A

Chronological Chart of Korean History



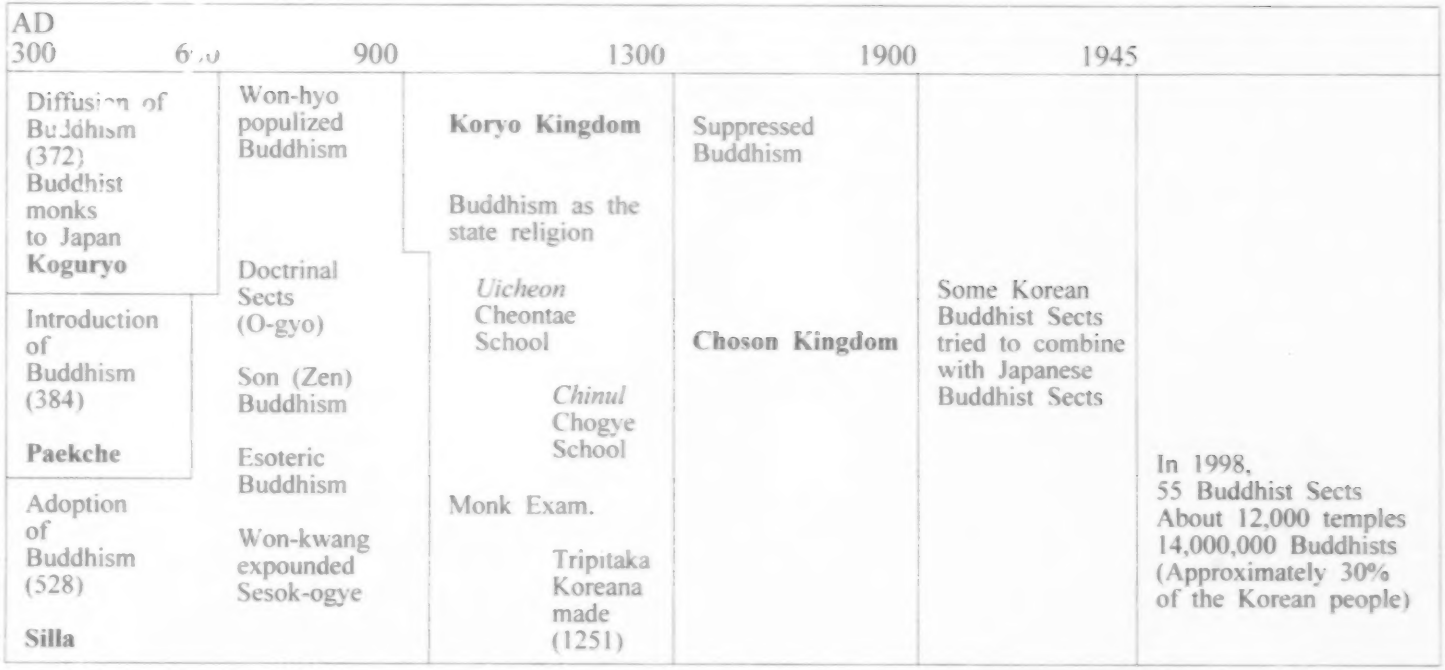
Appendix B

Development of Korean Higher Education


AD
300
AD
668
918
1392
1910
1945
1948
Foundation of Taehak (372)
Wangin to Japan with Confucian Documents
Beginning of Dokseo-sampumkwa (State Exam.) (788)
Initiation of the Examination Systems (958)
Foundation of Seongkunkwan (1398)
Opening Keijo Imperial University (1924)
29 Collegiate Institutes with approximately 20,000 Students (1947)
Initiation of the Hwarang(566)
Establishment of Kukchagam (The National Academy or University) (992)
Opening Ewha & Baejae Hakdangs (1886)
19 Higher Education Institutes with over 7,000 Students (1945)
372 Higher Education Institutes with 3,363,549 Students (2000)

Appendix C

Development of Korean Buddhism



Source: *Total Records of Korean Buddhism* (Daehan-Bulkyo-jinheungwon, 1998)

Appendix D

Development of Korean Confucianism

AD 1	600	900	1300	1900	1945	
The early existence of Confucianism **Koguryo**	Confucianism as a secondary key institution Taehak (372) Kyungdang	Opening of Kukhak (682)	Beginning of Kwa-keo systems (958) Foundation of Kukchagam (992)	The Confucian society & state Foundation of Seongkyun-kwan (1398)	Shinto-Confu-cianism	Confu-cianism as a main branch of Korean culture
Pre-existent Confucianism **Paekche**	Confucianism as a secondary key institution Paekche Confucian scholars to Japan		Hakdang Hyangkyo Seodang Sibi-do	Hakdang Hyangkyo Seowon Seodang		
Pre-existent Confucianism **Silla**	Confucianism as a secondary key institution	**Unified Silla**	**Koryo** Introduction of Neo-Con-fucianism	Kwa-keo systems **Choson**		

Appendix E

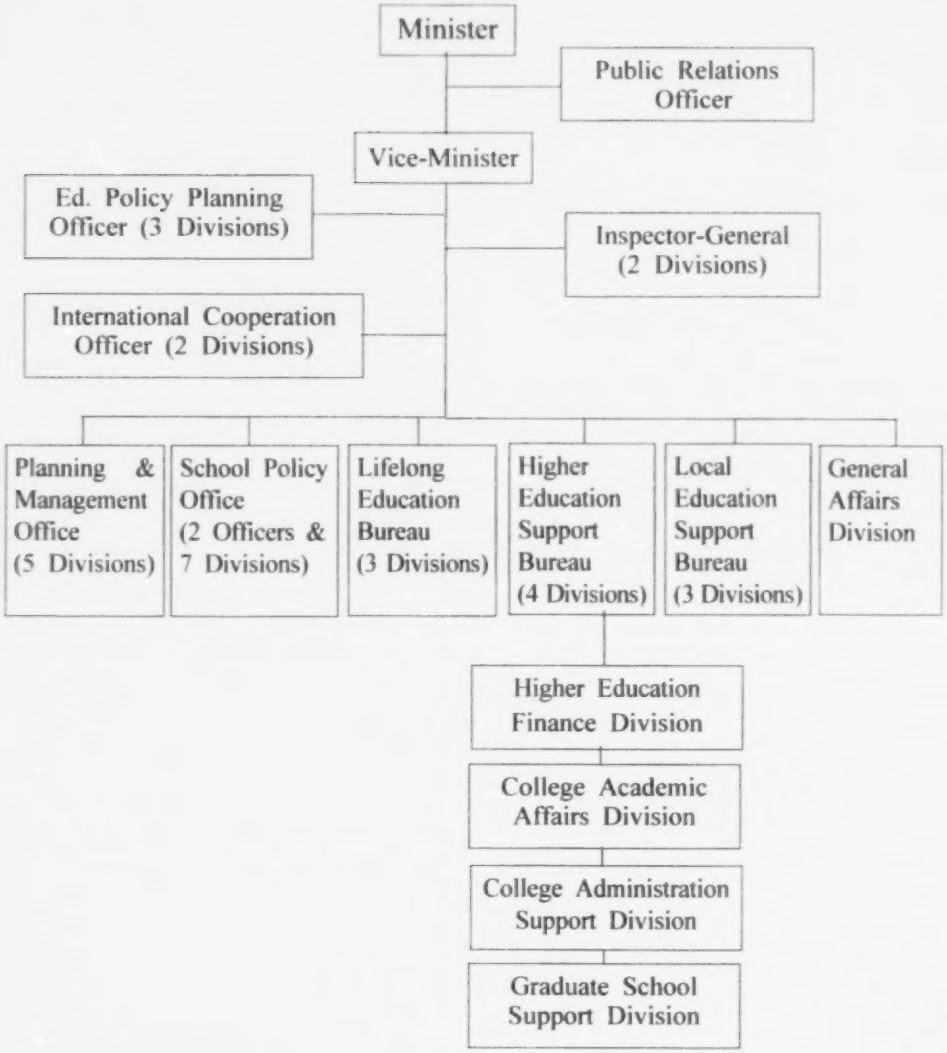
Development of Korean Christianity

AD 1600	1700	1800	1900	1945
The first contact of Roman Catholicism	Roman mission activity began (Introduction of Western scientific knowledge)	Initiating evangelism (Roman Catholicism) Harsh persecussions	Foreign Protestant missionaries arrived A Treaty of France (1886) brought religious freedom for Korean Catholics	Japanese colonial oppression	Rapid growth by 1997, three archdioceses and 15 dioceses 3,676,211 Catholics: 8% of the Korean people In 1995, Korean Protestantism has 168 denominations with 8,760,336 believers: 20% of the Korean people

Sources: *Statistics of Korean Catholic Church* (Hankuk-cheonjoogyo-choonganghyubuihoei, 1997) and *Present Situations of Korean Religion.* (Moonhwa-cheyookbu, 1995)

Appendix F

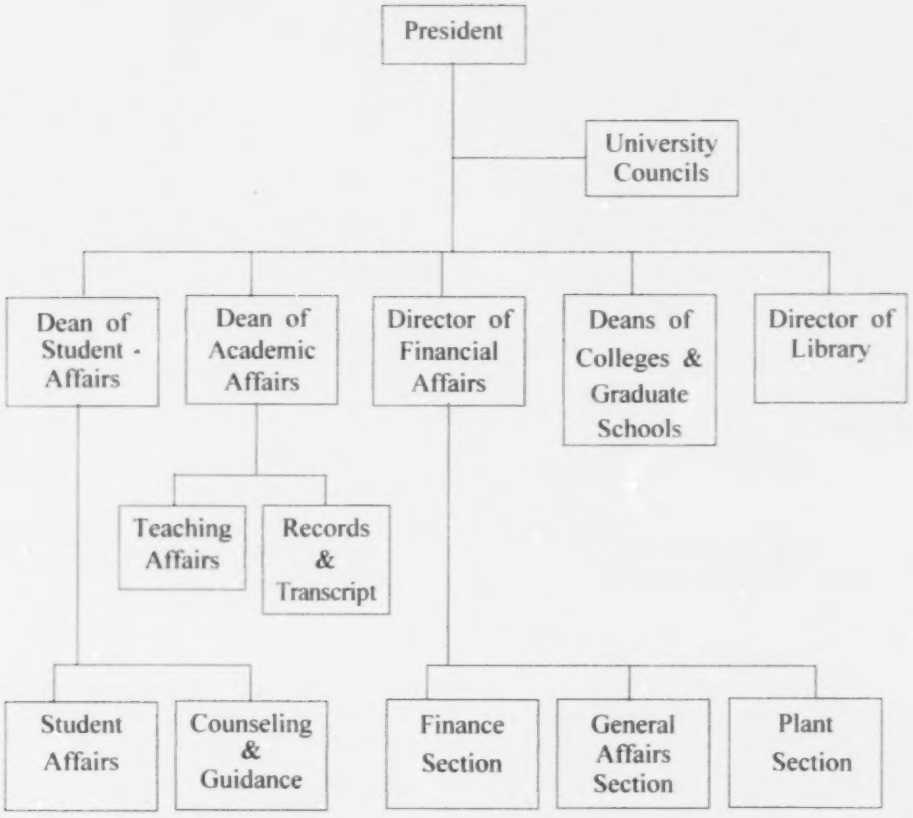
Organization of the Ministry of Education (1999)


Minister
Public Relations Officer
Vice-Minister
Ed. Policy Planning Officer (3 Divisions)
Inspector-General (2 Divisions)
International Cooperation Officer (2 Divisions)
Planning & Management Office (5 Divisions)
School Policy Office (2 Officers & 7 Divisions)
Lifelong Education Bureau (3 Divisions)
Higher Education Support Bureau (4 Divisions)
Local Education Support Bureau (3 Divisions)
General Affairs Division
Higher Education Finance Division
College Academic Affairs Division
College Administration Support Division
Graduate School Support Division

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (MOE & KEDI), 1999, pp. 922-923.

Appendix G

Organizational Structure of a Typical Korean University



Source: Adapted from *Higher Educational Reforms in the Republic of Korea* (Adams, 1965)

Appendix H

Statistics of Korean Higher Education (1999)

Classifications		Schools	Students		Teachers	
			Total	Women	Total	Women
Junior College	National(N)	7	14,857	5,782	374	100
	Public(P)	9	19,699	5,837	359	40
	Private(Pr)	145	824,991	308	10,648	2,524
	Total(T)	161	859,547	319,687	11,381	2,664
University of Education	N	11	21,323	15,532	708	116
	P					
	PR					
	T	11	21,323	15,532	708	116
College/ University	N	24	341,901	113,993	10,849	911
	P	2	19,514	5,468	475	39
	PR	132	1,226,252	440,375	29,902	4,544
	T	158	1,587,667	559,836	41,226	5,494
Air & Correspon-dence Univ.	N	1	316,365	190,806	109	26
	P					
	PR					
	T	1	316,365	190,806	109	26
Industrial University	N	8	77,177	15,437	1,245	63
	P					
	PR	11	81,267	19,182	1,007	136
	T	19	158,444	34,619	2,252	199
Miscellan. Collegiate School	N					
	P					
	PR	4	6,126	2,094	42	6
	T	4	6,126	2,094	42	6
Graduate School	N	125	61,673	18,415		
	P	10	2,600	539		
	PR	541	140,500	47,575		
	T	676	204,773	66,529		
Total	N	51	833,296	359,965	13,285	1,216
	P	11	41,813	11,844	834	79
	PR	292	2,279,136	817,294	41,599	7,210
	T	354	3,154,245	1,189,103	55,718	8,505

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (MOE & KEDI), 1999, pp. 584-585.
Note: The national (N) is controlled by the Korean government, while the public(P) is controlled by cities or provincials.

Appendix I

Higher Education Enrollment (South Korea: 1960-2000)

Year	Schools	Students	Teaching Faculty
1945	19	7,819	1,490
1960	85	101,041	3,808
1970	142	201,436	10,435
1975	205	238,719	13,981
1980	243	601,494	20,900
1985	262	1,277,825	33,895
1990	270	1,691,681	42,911
1991	278	1,762,154	45,366
1992	291	1,982,510	49,666
1993	305	2,099,735	52,933
1994	320	2,086,912	54,135
1995	333	2,343,894	58,977
1996	344	2,541,659	63,809
1997	358	2,792,410	69,157
1998	350	2,950,826	54,185
1999	354	3,154,245	55,718
2000	372	3,363,549	56,903

Sources: *Education in Korea: 1997~1998* (Ministry of Education, 1998), p. 32; *Handbook of Educational Statistics* (MOE & KEDI, 1998); and *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (MOE & KEDI, 1999, 2000)

Appendix J

Current Korean School System

Preschool Education	Elementary Education	Secondary Education		Higher Education
Kinder-garten 1 and 2 years	Elementary School (6 years)	Junior High School (Middle School) 3 years	General Senior High School (3 years) Vocational Senior High School (3 years) Correspondence High School Special High School (1 to 3 Years) Trade High School (1 to 3 years) Miscellaneous School (1 to 3 years)	Four Year College & University Dentistry & Medicine Graduate School University of Education Air & Correspondence University Technical College Miscellaneous School (2-4 years) Junior College (2-3 Years) Industrial University

Source: *Statistical Yearbook of Education* (MOE & KEDI), 1999, p. 23.

Appendix K

The Constitution of the Republic of Korea: Preamble

We, the people of the Republic of Korea, [possess] a glorious tradition and history from time immemorial, following the great spirit of independence as manifested in the establishment of the Republic of Korea and the proclamation thereof the whole world by the March 1st Movement in the year *Gi-mi* (AD 1919).

Now being engaged in the re-establishment of a democratic and independent state and determined:

To consolidate national unity through justice, humanity, and fraternity;

To establish democratic institutions, eliminating evil social customs of all kinds;

To afford equal opportunities to every person and to provide for the fullest development of the capacity of each individual in all fields of political, economic, social, and cultural life;

To require each person to discharge one's duties and responsibilities;

To promote the welfare of the people at home and to strive to maintain permanent international peace and thereby to ensure the security, liberty, and happiness of ourselves and our posterity eternally;

Do hereby, in the National Assembly, composed of our freely and duly elected representatives, ordain and establish this Constitution on the Twelfth Day of July in the year of *Dangun* 4281 (AD 1948).

Source: Adapted from *UNESCO Korean Survey* (KNCU), 1960, p. 117.

Appendix L

The Education Law of the Republic of Korea: Chapter I, Article 1 to 3

Chapter I Fundamental Provisions

Article 1: Education shall, under the great ideal of *Hong-ig-in-gan*, (Benefits for all Mankind), aim to assist all people in perfecting individual character, developing the ability for an independent life, and acquiring citizenship qualifications needed for development into a democratic national and for the realization of human co-prosperity.

Article 2: In order to achieve these aims, the following educational objectives shall be set up:

(1) Development of the knowledge and habits needed for the sound development and sustenance of health, and cultivation of an indomitable spirit.

(2) Development of a patriotic spirit for the preservation of national independence and enhancement of an ideal for the cause of world peace.

(3) Succession and development of our national culture and contribution to the creation and growth of the world culture.

(4) Fostering of the truth-seeking spirit and the ability of scientific thinking for creative activity and rational living.

(5) Development of the love for freedom and of high respect for responsibility necessary to lead well-harmonized community life with the spirit of faithfulness, cooperation, and understanding.

(6) Development of aesthetic feeling to appreciate and create sublime arts, enjoy the beauty of nature, and to utilize the leisure effectively for joyful and harmonious life.

(7) Cultivation of thriftiness and faithfulness to one's work in order to become an able producer and a wise consumer

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for economic life.

Article 3: The aims of education shall be carried into effect not only in schools and other educational institutions but also in all political, social, economic and cultural life of the country. Greatest emphasis, however, shall be placed on public, scientific, vocational, and normal education.

Source: Adapted from *Education in Korea* (The Ministry of Education), 1976, pp. 20-21.

Appendix M

The Charter of National Education (1968)

We have been born into this land, charged with the historic mission of regenerating the nation. This is the time for us to establish a self-reliant posture within and contribute to the common prosperity of mankind without, by revitalizing the illustrious spirit of our forefathers. We do hereby state the proper course to follow and set it up as the aim of our education.

With the sincere mind and strong body improving ourselves in learning and arts, developing the innate faculty of each of us, and overcoming the existing difficulties for the rapid progress of the nation, we will cultivate our creative power and pioneer spirit. We will give the foremost consideration to public good and order, set a value of efficiency and quality, and inheriting the tradition or mutual assistance rooted in love, respect and faithfulness, will promote the spirit of fair and warm co-operation. Realizing that the nation develops through the creative and co-operative activities and that the national prosperity is the ground for individual growth, we will do our best to fulfill the responsibility and obligation attendant upon our freedom and right, and encourage the willingness of the people to participate and serve in building the nation.

The love of the country and fellow countrymen together with the firm belief in democracy against communism is the way for our survival and the basis for realizing the ideals of the free world. Looking forward to the future when we shall have the honorable fatherland unified for the everlasting good of posterity, we, as an industrious people with confidence and pride, pledge ourselves to make new history with untiring effort and collective wisdom of the whole nation.

Source: Adapted from *Education in Korea* (The Ministry of Education), 1976, p. 3.

Appendix N

Framework Act on Education (December 1997)

CHAPTER I GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1 (Purpose)

The purpose of this Act is to provide for the rights and duties of the people and the obligations of the State and local governments on education, and prescribe the educational system and the basic matters on its operation.

Article 2 (Educational Ideas)

Education shall aim to enable every citizen to lead a life worthy of humankind and contribute to the development of a democratic state and the realization of an ideal of human co-prosperity by ensuring that one builds character and is equipped with independent abilities for living and necessary qualities as a democratic citizen under the humanitarian ideal.

Article 3 (Right to Learn)

Every citizen shall have a right to learn through life and to receive an education according to his or her abilities and aptitudes.

Article 4 (Equal Opportunity of Education)

No citizen shall be discriminated against in education for reasons of sex, religion, faith, social standing, economic status or physical conditions, etc..

Article 5 (Educational Independence, etc.)

(1) The State and any local government shall guarantee the educational independence and speciality, and establish and execute a policy for conducting education which meets the real needs of a region.

(2) The autonomy of operating a school shall be respected, and the school personnel, students, parents of students and residents of a region may participate in operating a school under the conditions as determined by Acts and subordinate statutes.

Article 6 (Educational Neutrality)

(1) Education shall be administered to secure the purpose of education *per se* and it shall not be used as a tool for propagating any political,

factional or individual biased views.

(2) No school which has been founded by the State and the local government shall conduct religious education in favor of any particular religion.

Article 7 (Educational Finance)

(1) The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary to secure educational finance stability.

(2) Matters necessary for local education subsidies and local education grants for a stable security of educational finance shall be determined by Acts.

Article 8 (Compulsory Education)

(1) Compulsory education shall be composed of elementary education for a period of 6 years and secondary education for a period of 3 years: *Provided*, That compulsory education for secondary education for a period of 3 years shall be carried out in order, taking into account the financial conditions of the State under the conditions as determined by the Presidential Decree.

(2) Every citizen shall have a right to receive the compulsory education referred to in paragraph (1).

Article 9 (School Education)

(1) Schools shall be established to conduct early childhood education, elementary education, secondary education and higher education.

(2) Schools shall be public in character, and shall make efforts to maintain and develop sciences and cultural heritage and promote the lifelong education of residents in addition to educating students.

(3) Schools education shall be performed with much emphasis on education of whole person, including the development of originality and the cultivation of human nature for students.

(4) Basic matters on school education such as types of schools and the establishment and management of schools shall be determined by Acts.

Article 10 (Social Education)

(1) All forms of social education for lifelong education of citizens shall be encouraged.

(2) Any completion of social education may be recognized as having completed school education equivalent thereto under the conditions as determined by Acts and subordinate statutes.

(3) Basic matters on social education such as types of social educational institutions and the establishment and management of social educational

institutions shall be determined by Acts.

Article 11 (Establishment of Schools, etc.)

(1) The State and local government shall establish and manage schools and social educational institutions.

(2) Any juristic person or private person may establish and manage schools and social educational institutions under the conditions as determined by Acts.

CHAPTER II PARTIES CONCERNED IN EDUCATION

Article 12 (Learners)

(1) Fundamental human rights of learners including students shall be respected and protected in the process of school education or social education.

(2) The content of education, teaching methods, teaching materials and educational facilities shall be such that any learner's abilities can be displayed to the greatest extent by respecting his or her personality and emphasizing his or her individuality.

(3) Students shall observe school regulations, and shall not interfere with school teachers in educational and research activities nor disturb school order.

Article 13 (Custodians)

(1) Custodians such as parents shall have the right and obligation to educate sons and daughters or children under their care so that they can have a good human nature and grow up as healthy children.

(2) Custodians such as parents may present their opinions about the education of sons and daughters or children under their care to schools, and the schools shall respect them.

Article 14 (School Teachers)

(1) The specialty of teachers in school education shall be respected, the economic and social status of school teachers shall be given preferential treatment and their status shall be guaranteed.

(2) School teachers shall make efforts to improve their character and quality as educators.

(3) School teachers shall not guide or instigate Students for the purpose

of supporting or opposing any particular political party or faction.

(4) School teachers may hold other public offices under the conditions as determined by Acts.

(5) The matters necessary for the appointment, service, remuneration and pension of school teachers shall be determined by Acts.

Article 15 (School Teachers' Organizations)

(1) School teachers shall make efforts to promote education and advance culture in cooperation with each other, and may form teachers' organization at each local government and central government to improve teachers' economic and social status.

(2) The matters necessary to form teachers' organizations referred to in paragraph (1) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 16 (Founders and Managers of Schools, etc.)

(1) Any founder and manager of a school or social educational institution shall secure the facilities, equipment, finance and school teachers for education and operate and manage them under the conditions as determined by Acts and subordinate statutes.

(2) The head of a school and any founder and manager of a social educational institution shall select and educate learners, and record and manage the course of education such as the academic records of learners.

(3) The contents of education of a school or social educational institution shall be made public in advance to learners.

Article 17 (State and Local Governments)

The State and local government shall direct and supervise schools and social educational institutions.

CHAPTER III PROMOTION OF EDUCATION

Article 18 (Education for the Handicapped)

The State and local government shall establish and manage schools for persons who need special educational care due to physical, mental and intellectual disability and shall establish and execute a policy necessary to support their education.

Article 19 (Special Education for Precocious Children)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary for the education of especially brilliant children in the field of sciences, arts or athletics, etc..

Article 20 (Early Childhood Education)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary to promote early childhood education.

Article 21 (Vocational Education)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary for every citizen to receive education for a knowledge of his vocation and the development of his abilities through school education and social education.

Article 22 (Science and Technology Education)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary to promote science and technology education.

Article 23 (Information-Oriented Education)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary for information-oriented education such as the support of education through the medium of information communications and fostering the educational information industry.

Article 24 (Promotion of Sciences and Culture)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy such as the establishment of scientific and cultural institutions and support of research expenses to study and promote sciences and culture.

Article 25 (Fostering Private Schools)

The State and local government shall support and foster private schools, and shall ensure that the various and distinctive purposes of founding private schools can be respected.

Article 26 (Evaluation and Certification System)

(1) The State and local government shall establish and execute a system on achievement evaluation and certification of attainments so that the academic records, etc. of citizens can be fairly evaluated and gain recognition in society.

(2) The evaluation and certification system referred to in paragraph (1) shall be mutually linked to educational systems such as school curriculum.

Article 27 (Promotion of Health and Welfare)

The State and local government shall establish and execute a policy necessary to promote the health and welfare of students and school personnel.

Article 28 (Scholarship, etc.)

(1) The State and local government shall establish and execute a scholarship and school expenses subsidy system, etc. for the benefit of persons

who have difficulty in receiving education for economic reasons.

(2) The State may subsidize all or part of school expenses or other required expenses to persons who receive teacher-training education and those who major in or perform research in fields which are especially indispensable to the State inside or outside the country.

(3) The matters necessary for the payment method and procedures and the qualifications and duties of those who are to be supplied with scholarships and subsidies for school expenses referred to in paragraphs (1) and (2) shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 29 (Internationalization Education)

(1) The State shall make efforts to conduct internationalization education and skills training for citizens to be equipped as members of the international community.

(2) The State shall work out a policy necessary to conduct school education or social education necessary for Korean residents abroad.

(3) The State shall work out a policy on studying abroad to promote the undertaking studies, and shall support educational and research activities for understanding the Republic of Korea outside the country and for establishing the identity of Korean culture.

(4) The State shall work out a policy necessary for cooperating with foreign governments and international organizations.

ADDENDA

Article 1 (Enforcement Date)

This Act shall enter into force on March 1, 1998.

Article 2 (Repeal of Other Act)

The Education Act shall hereby be repealed.

Article 3 (Amendment of Other Acts) Omitted.

Article 4 (Relations with Other Acts and Subordinate Statutes)

Where other Acts and subordinate statutes cite the previous Education Act or its provisions at the time of entry into force of this Act and where this Act includes the provisions corresponding thereto, this Act or the provisions concerned of this Act shall be deemed to have been cited in lieu of the previous Education Act or its provisions.

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Appendix O

Higher Education Act (December 1997)

CHAPTER I GENERAL PROVISIONS

Article 1 (Purpose)

The purpose of this Act is to provide for matters on higher education pursuant to Article 9 of the Framework Act on Education.

Article 2 (Types of Schools)

The following schools shall be established to conduct higher education:

1. Universities and colleges;
2. Industrial colleges;
3. Teachers' colleges;
4. Junior colleges;
5. Air colleges, correspondence colleges and air and correspondence colleges (hereinafter referred to as "air and correspondence colleges");
6. Technical colleges; and
7. Various kinds of schools.

Article 3 (Classification of National, Public and Private Schools)

Schools listed in subparagraphs of Article 2 (hereinafter referred to as "schools") shall be classified into national schools established and managed by the State, public schools (they may be classified into city schools and *Do* schools according to the founding entities) established and managed by local governments and private schools established and managed by incorporated school foundations.

Article 4 (Establishment, etc. of Schools)

(1) Any person who intends to establish a school shall meet the establishment standards such as facilities and equipment as determined by the Presidential Decree.

(2) Where any person other than the State intends to establish a school, he shall obtain authorization from the Minister of Education.

(3) Where any founder or operator of a public or private school intends

to abolish the school or modify the important matters as determined by the Presidential Decree, he shall obtain authorization from the Minster of Education.

Article 5 (Guidance and Supervision)

Schools shall be guided and supervised by the Minster of Education.

Article 6 (School Regulations)

(1) The head of a school (where a person establishes a school, the person who intends to establish the school) may establish or amend school regulations (hereinafter referred to as "school regulations") within the extent of Acts and subordinate statutes.

(2) Where the head of a school establishes or amends school regulations pursuant to paragraph (1), he shall make a report on them without delay to the Minister of Education.

(3) The matters necessary for the entries in, procedures for the establishment and amendment of, and making reports on school regulations shall be determined by the Presidential Decree.

Article 7 (Educational Finance)

(1) The State and the local government may assist and subsidize financial resources necessary for schools to accomplish their purposes.

(2) Schools shall disclose the budget and settlement of accounts under the conditions as determined by the Ordinance of the Ministry of Education.

Article 8 (Payment of Experimental and Practice Expenses, etc.)

The State shall pay experimental and practice expenses, research-aid expenses or scholarships or take other necessary measures to promote scholarship and academic research and foster research on education.

Article 9 (Support for Mutual Cooperation between Schools)

The State and the local government shall provide support for the interchange of school teachers and the activation of research cooperation among schools.

Article 10 (School Consultative Body)

(1) Universities and colleges, industrial colleges, teachers' colleges, junior colleges, and air and correspondence colleges, etc. may operate school consultative bodies composed of representatives from respective schools for the development of higher education.

(2) The organization and operation of consultative bodies referred to in paragraph (1) shall be otherwise determined by Acts.

Article 11 (Tuition Fees, etc.)

(1) Any founder and manager of a school may collect tuition fees or other money due.

(2) The matters necessary for the collection, etc. of tuition fees or other money due shall be determined by the Ordinance of the Ministry of Education.

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Appendix P

A Note on Romanization

Although there is no standard rule to transliterate Korean letters into the English language, in this book the author referred to any combination of two generally utilized romanization systems, the Korean Ministry of Education and the McCune-Reishauer. Nonetheless, many Korean people are not accustomed to these two systems.

In romanizing Korean, the author usually followed the Ministry of Education system. However, in giving the names of persons, the researcher adopted a Western way, placing the family names last. In general, Korean words and others which are not original English letters had been italicized to easily distinguish between English and the other languages.

ex. Korean Way: Lee Jeong-kyu (the author's name)
Western Way: Jeong-kyu Lee

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HISTORIC FACTORS INFLUENCING KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Korean elite/higher education has been affected by historic factors. The significant religious and philosophical elements influencing Korean elite/higher education have been Buddhism, Confucianism, Shinto-Confucianism, Christianity, and Western thoughts. In particular, the traditional thoughts such as Buddhism and Confucianism have affected a spiritual side, whereas the grafted ideas such as Christianity and Western thoughts have contributed to a formal side. The characteristics of contemporary Korean higher education have maintained the hierarchically closed organizational structure and culture with formal authoritarian interaction patterns.

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